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HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

ANNUAL
REPORT

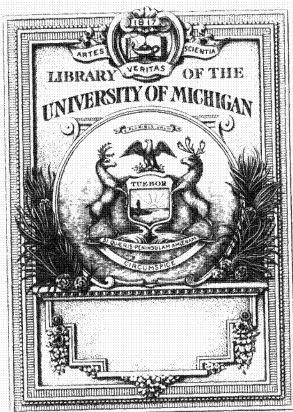
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THE GIFT OF
Major T. M. Spaulding

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Thirty-Ninth Annual
REPORT
of the
Hawaiian Historical
Society

FOR THE YEAR 1930

*With Papers Read at the Annual Meeting
February 10, 1931*



Printed by
Hawaiian Printing Co., Ltd.
Aiea and Keawe Sts.
1931



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*The Hawaiian Historical Society is not responsible for the views expressed by
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OFFICERS FOR 1931

President.....	RT. REV. HENRY B. RESTARICK
Vice-President.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
Secretary (Recording and Corresponding)	R. S. KUYKENDALL
Treasurer	SAMUEL WILDER KING
Librarian.....	MISS CAROLINE P. GREEN
Trustee until 1932.....	R. S. KUYKENDALL
Trustee until 1932.....	COL. THOMAS M. SPAULDING, U.S.A.
Trustee until 1932.....	JAMES T. PHILLIPS
Trustee until 1933.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
Trustee until 1933.....	THOMAS W. ELLIS
Trustee until 1933.....	SAMUEL WILDER KING

TRUSTEE LIBRARY OF HAWAII

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT

COMMITTEES

Finance Committee

James T. Phillips George R. Carter W. F. Frear

Duty of Committee

To devise ways and means of providing funds to enable the
Society to accomplish its aims.

House Committee

Miss Margaret Newman Miss Caroline P. Green Miss Maud Jones

Duty of Committee

To take charge of the arrangement and preservation of the
Society's library and collections.

Editorial and Printing Committee

R. S. Kuykendall Bishop H. B. Restarick Charles E. Hogue

Duty of Committee

To edit and arrange for printing all publications. Shall call
for bids for printing.

Purchasing Committee

J. T. Phillips Bishop H. B. Restarick Miss Caroline P. Green

Duty of Committee

Shall attend to the purchasing and acquisition of new material
for the Society's library and collections.

Membership Committee

T. W. Ellis S. W. King Miss Elsie H. Wilcox

Duty of Committee

To obtain new members for the Society.

Program and Research Committee

Bishop H. B. Restarick R. S. Kuykendall Bruce Cartwright

Duty of Committee

To take charge of and arrange programs.

Nominating Committee

Arthur C. Alexander Rev. Henry P. Judd T. W. Ellis

Duty of Committee

To present nominations for the office of President and for
three Trustees to be voted on at the annual meeting.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

February 16, 1931

The Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held in the Library of Hawaii on Monday, February 16, 1931, at 7:45 p. m.

There were forty-six members and guests present.

Bishop Henry B. Restarick, President, occupied the chair.

The President explained that the Minutes of the Annual Meeting held in February 1930 had already been read and approved of by the Trustees and had been printed.

The following Annual Reports were then read, accepted, and ordered printed: Annual Report of the President, Annual Report of the Treasurer, Annual Report of the Librarian.

Mr. Arthur C. Alexander, Chairman of the Nominating Committee then presented the following report:

Honolulu, February 16, 1931.

Report of Nominating Committee
Hawaiian Historical Society

To Bishop H. B. Restarick, President
and Members of the Hawaiian
Historical Society:

Your Nominating Committee submits the following nominations for the year 1931-1932:

For President—Bishop Henry B. Restarick to succeed himself.

For Trustees—Judge Walter F. Frear, Samuel W. King and Thomas W. Ellis, to succeed themselves.

Respectfully,
(Signed) A. C. ALEXANDER,
Chairman.

Upon motion of Mr. Bruce Cartwright, seconded by Mr. John F. G. Stokes, the report of the Nominating Committee was accepted, further nominations were closed and the candidates nominated were unanimously elected.

President until the Annual Meeting in 1932—
Bishop Henry B. Restarick.

Three Trustees to serve for two years—Judge
Walter F. Frear, Samuel W. King, Thomas W.
Ellis.

The President then introduced Judge Howay who had at a previous Meeting been elected an Honorary Member of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

A paper by Mr. Harold W. Bradley entitled "Thomas ap Catesby Jones and the Hawaiian Islands" was then read to the Meeting by Mrs. Restarick.

The following Resolution prepared by Mr. Kuykendall was then read to the Meeting by the President. (The Resolution, in reference to the late Albert P. Taylor, is printed elsewhere in this Report).

Upon motion of Mr. Bruce Cartwright seconded by Mr. Samuel W. King, the Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mrs. Juliet King Kimball then read a paper prepared several years ago by her mother, Josephine Wundenberg King, entitled "Reminiscences of Hanalei, Kauai."

Mr. John F. G. Stokes then briefly discussed a paper which he was preparing for the Society entitled "Origin of the Condemnation of Captain Cook in Hawaii."

There being no further business, the Meeting adjourned.

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT,
Acting Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

There is nothing special to report as to progress during the past year. Our hopes expressed last year that by arrangements with the Trustees of the Library of Hawaii, we might have the full time of our Librarian, so that our collection could be used under proper supervision, by others than members, has failed of accomplishment.

The budget of the Library prepared for the Governor had in it provisions for salaries for additions to the staff, but we were notified that every department under the Territorial government would have to present its budget without any increase to the budget of the last biennium period. This we were informed was necessary in the interests of economy.

This was unfortunate because the demands upon the Library are constantly increasing. We shall have to get along as heretofore with a half of the time of our efficient Librarian.

We have a very valuable collection of books and papers and while we should like to have them used by approved persons other than members this is impossible without the supervision and presence of a Librarian, or other member of the Library staff. Those who know how frequently books are mutilated by the cutting out of pictures or reading matter, will understand the necessity of carefully guarding our collection.

If we had a larger membership and a larger endowment we should be able perhaps to pay the salary of a Librarian, but at present we must wait.

In the past few years we have lost through death some of the members who had been active in the Society since its foundation. We have lately lost one who had the welfare

of the Hawaiian Historical Society always at heart. In the death of Albert Pierce Taylor the Trustees have lost its Secretary and one of its most active members and the whole Society while not knowing how valuable his services were as well as the Trustees do, yet all feel the loss of one with whom the interests of the Society were always in his mind and heart. At the proper time a resolution should be offered in his memory.

HENRY B. RESTARICK,
President.

TREASURER'S REPORT

February 8, 1930, to February 16, 1931

INCOME

Balance in Commercial Account as of February 8, 1930.....	\$1,060.58	
Initiation Fees	7.00	
Dues	376.00	
Dues—Kauai Branch	72.00	
Dividends:		
von Hamm Young Co., Stock.....	60.00	
Olaa Sugar Co., Bond.....	60.00	
McBryde, Bond	100.00	
Sale of Reports & Publications.....	263.20	
Miscellaneous	2.71	
		\$2,001.49

DISBURSEMENTS

Mellen Associates (Notices, letters, stamps, envelopes, etc.).....	\$ 72.19	
Honolulu Star-Bulletin Ltd. (600 copies Annual Report for 1929).....	201.50	
Printshop (Stamped envelopes)	15.25	
(600 copies "Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society" and 1 cut)	237.69	
Advertiser Publishing Co. (250 Envelopes).....	10.00	
(500 Letterheads).....	6.50	
(Rubber stamp).....	1.30	
Purchase of Books.....	297.93	
Dues—California Historical Society (1930 and 1931).....	20.00	
Miscellaneous	4.70	867.06
Balance in General Fund, Feb. 16, 1931.....		\$1,134.43

ENDOWMENT FUND

RECEIPTS

Balance in Savings Account Feb. 8, 1930.....	93.49	
Interest on Savings Account \$1.86 and \$1.90.....	3.76	97.25

ASSETS

Two \$1,000.00 McBryde Bonds.....	\$2,000.00	
One \$1000.00 Olaa Sugar Co. Bond.....	1,000.00	
Ten Shares von Hamm Young Co. Stock.....	995.00	
Cash—Savings Account	97.25	
Cash—Commercial Account	1,134.43	
		\$5,226.68

SAMUEL WILDER KING,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN FOR 1930

To the Officers and Members of
The Hawaiian Historical Society

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is gratifying to report that since our last annual meeting the Hawaiian Historical Society has been moved into a larger and more commodious room in this building, which facilitates the care and use of the library and provides wall space for our pictures.

Though I could not accomplish all that I planned to do in the past year, some progress in the care of the library has been made and the collection has been used considerably for reference. A large number of duplicates have been disposed of by gift or exchange. The Archives of Hawaii, the University of Hawaii, the Hilo Library, the Library of Congress and Michigan University were the recipients. Several duplicates of the Polynesian and other newspapers were sold; sixty volumes of reports, bulletins, serials and books in bad condition sent to the bindery; were returned, catalogued and shelved.

Early this year this Society joined the California Historical Society and an exchange of publications was made. Exchanges have also been arranged with the Minnesota Historical Society and the Washington Historical Society in Seattle.

We have purchased some valuable titles and received some interesting gifts. Through the suggestion of Professor Kuykendall we sent to London for eleven volumes of "Voyages and Travels" published by the Hakluyt Society. Our collection of voyages is further enriched by "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest coast of America in the Sixteenth Century" by Henry B. Wagner, a special publication of the California Historical Society; and "Voyages to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Wager, 1740-1741," by John Bulkeley and John Cummins, Gunner and Carpen-

ter. Three new titles supplement the Captain Cook collection: "Life and Voyages of Captain Cook" by Maurice Thiéry, a translation from the French; the London edition of "Captain James Cook, R. N." by Sir Joseph Carruthers, and the long awaited "Zimmermann's Captain Cook" from the Mannheim edition of 1781, carefully edited and annotated by Judge F. W. Howay, and published by the Ryerson Press in Toronto.

Through the efforts of Bishop Restarick, copies of "The Story of Hawaii and its Builders" and "Women of Hawaii" were secured, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and the Paradise of the Pacific generously letting the Society have them for half the original price. We also bought Margaret Mead's "Coming of Age in Samoa," and her "Inquiry into the Question of Cultural Stability in Polynesia," the latter a study of canoe building, house building and tattooing in Hawaii, as well as in the Marquesas, Tahiti, Samoa and among the Maori people; "The Discovery of Australia" by G. A. Wood; "Tales Told in Hawaii," a collection of great charm, by Berta Metzger; "Hawaiian Planting Traditions" by Juliet Rice Wichman; and "When You Go to Hawaii" by Townsend Griffiss, considered the best guide-book to the Islands yet written.

The "Report of the Royal Commission of New Zealand concerning the Administration of Western Samoa," which we ordered and had bound, was recently supplemented by Senator Hiram Bingham's gift from Washington of the "Reports of the American Samoan Commission." Bishop Restarick has presented the library with copies of his pamphlet "The Discovery of Hawaii", Miss Stella M. Jones her monograph on "Hawaiian Quilts," and Mrs. Julie Judd Swanzy with "Fragments V. Family Records of the House of Judd." Mr. James T. Phillips has placed in our keeping a very valuable manuscript book "Records of the Meetings of the Faculty of the High School at Lahainaluna, Maui, from August 24, 1835 to May 5, 1876." The writing is still legible and the items of historic interest.

Acknowledgement is hereby made to the Bishop Mu-

seum, the University of Hawaii, the Department of Public Instruction, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Hon. George R. Carter and others who have given publications which have added to the resources of the library.

I trust that the coming year will give time for further revision of the catalog; and that the library will prove more helpful to all who are interested in Hawaiiana.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,
Librarian.

ALBERT PIERCE TAYLOR

(Dec. 18, 1872—Jan. 12, 1931)

A little more than a month ago, Mr. Albert Pierce Taylor, Trustee and Secretary of the Hawaiian Historical Society and Librarian of the Archives of Hawaii, passed away—taken suddenly in the midst of his work. Mr. Taylor had lived a very active life, in which adventure as well as quiet vicissitude formed a part. His interest in the history of these islands began even before he became a resident of Hawaii. During a third of a century he lived here, absorbing the atmosphere of the islands and acquiring an extensive knowledge of the general facts and intimate details of Hawaiian history. A fluent and entertaining writer, Mr. Taylor contributed constantly to local publications as well as to mainland periodicals. His more serious work is to be found in his popular book, *Under Hawaiian Skies*, and in articles contributed in recent years to the *Paradise of the Pacific* and the proceedings of the Hawaiian Historical Society. For six years Mr. Taylor served this Society zealously as a Trustee and for the last two years held also the post of Recording and Corresponding Secretary. His interest in the work of the Society was constant and keen.

It is therefore Resolved, by the Hawaiian Historical Society, that we note with deep regret the death of our late colleague, Mr. Taylor; and that we express to Mrs. Taylor our sincere condolence and sympathy with her in the bereavement which she has suffered though the loss of her companion of many years;

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution and the accompanying minute be transmitted to Mrs. Taylor, and that they be printed in the next annual report of the Society.

The foregoing Resolution was adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Society, February 16, 1931.

JUDGE C. B. HOFGAARD

(Oct. 5, 1859—March 2, 1931)

Judge Christopher B. Hofgaard, President of the Kauai Historical Society, passed away at his home, Waimea, Kauai, March 2, 1931. Born in Skien, Norway, October 5, 1859, Mr. Hofgaard came to Hawaii when twenty-two years old. After three years on the island of Maui, he moved to Waimea, Kauai, where he established his permanent home and became closely identified with the affairs of the developing island. There he founded the firm of C. B. Hofgaard & Co., which has been in business for forty-five years and with which he was still associated, as President of the Board of Directors, at the time of his death. Other business activities claimed his attention through the years, but always he had time for the larger community and civic interests of the island. For twenty-seven years he served as District Magistrate at Waimea. His interest in religious and social-welfare work took him onto the Boards of the Island YMCA, the Hawaiian Board, the Child Welfare and Indigent Aid Committees, and the Mahelona Hospital for Tubercular patients. His understanding of people, his genuineness, his real sympathy, his friendliness, made him a tower of strength wherever he served. His many kindnesses to all races and classes made him indeed the "Friend of Man."

Judge Hofgaard was always interested in Hawaiian history in the large, reading much in this line, and in local matters had become quite an authority. He was particularly interested in Hawaiian legends, drawing comparisons between them and the legends and myths of other lands. Through his ability to talk Hawaiian, his friendliness, and his gentle humor, he was easily able to establish contacts with the Hawaiians and to obtain information from them. A loyal member of the Kauai Historical Society from the time of its inception in 1914, he became its President in 1925, succeeding the late Hon. Wm. Hyde Rice. In 1928,

he was the leading spirit in erecting the Captain Cook Monument at Waimea, Kauai, to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the islands. The celebration of this event and the affiliation of the Kauai Historical Society with the Hawaiian Historical Society were the outstanding events of his term as President of the Society. With real regret the Society reports his death. His kind and genial personality, his loyalty to the land of his adoption will long be remembered.

THOMAS AP CATESBY JONES AND THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, 1826-1827.

Harold W. Bradley

Instructor in History, Stanford University

The more than eight years which elapsed between the departure of Liholiho for England and the death of Kaahumanu in 1832 constituted a fruitful period in the growth of American economic and religious ascendancy in the Hawaiian Islands. Such powerful agencies in the spread of American ideals and influence as whalers, missionaries, and mercantile houses—all of which had appeared at the islands during or prior to the reign of the second Kamehameha—had achieved a stability by 1832 that marked them as more than temporary factors in the development of the Hawaiian nation. Not the least among the thousands of Americans who visited the islands during these eight eventful years was Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commander of the U. S. S. *Peacock*, who remained at Honolulu less than three months,¹ but whose accomplishments during that brief period bulk large in early Hawaiian history. Jones commanded the second American man-of-war to visit the islands;² the conduct of his predecessor had scarcely been sufficiently discreet to assure a hearty welcome from the native authorities for the commander of the *Peacock*; and but little more than a year had passed since a British naval officer, Lord Byron, had won the approbation of the chiefs, the American missionaries, and the foreign residents generally, by a display of tact and kindness which served to reaffirm the beliefs of the natives in the friendliness of England. Despite the handicaps with which he was faced when he dropped anchor in the harbor at Honolulu, Jones accom-

¹ Bernice Judd, *Voyages to Hawaii Before 1860*, p. 25.

² Unless one includes the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, a captured British vessel temporarily sailing under the American flag, the first American naval vessel to touch in Hawaiian waters was the *Dolphin*, which anchored at Honolulu on January 16, 1826. Hiram Paulding, *Cruise of the Dolphin*, p. 196.

plished all that his instructions ordered him to undertake, adjusted matters of no slight delicacy, and by a display of determinaton, tempered by moderation, enhanced the prestige of his country in the mid-Pacific.

To afford protection to American citizens and property, supposed to be in grave danger, was the primary motive of the Washington government in sending a man-of-war to Honolulu. As early as December 1824, one hundred and thirty-seven traders and masters of whalers at Nantucket had united in urging President Monroe to station a naval force in the Pacific to prevent a repetition of such sensationally atrocious mutinies as had recently occurred on board the *Globe* ³ On the fifth of the following April, but a month after Adams had entered the White House, a less numerous group of Nantucket seamen, interested in whaling, addressed the new President, alleging that they had been informed that at the Hawaiian Islands there were "over one hundred and fifty seamen (principally deserters from whale ships) prowling about the country, naked and destitute, associating themselves with the natives, assuming their habits and acquiring their vices; their number was constantly increasing, and serious apprehensions existed that necessity would induce those lawless deserters to commit some act of a piratical nature." In view of these terrible conditions, the existence of which they do not seem to have doubted, the petitioners suggested to the President that the Hawaiian Islands might "soon become a nest of pirates and murderers" unless there was an adequate American naval force in the vicinity to prevent such calamity.⁴

Though the power of the regency and the unquestioned personal integrity of Kalanimoku were a positive assurance that no large group of natives would join these deserting seamen in any desperate action, there seems to have been some just cause for apprehension as to the activities of numerous individuals among the floating foreign population

³ William Coffin et. al. to President Monroe, Nantucket, Dec. 1824, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 9-10.

⁴ Aaron Mitchell et. al. to President Adams, Nantucket, April 5, 1825, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 11. Cf. Gideon Howland et. al. to Same, no date, in *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

of Oahu, who formed a source of worry to the Hawaiian government as well as to the Nantucket whalers. The passing of a few years had somewhat altered the conduct and character of many of those who were willing to cast their lot with the Hawaiian people. As in the early days of the first Kamehameha, however, there were representatives of all the types that any seaport is likely to produce; and as in the earlier period, criticisms of their motives and actions were to be found in nearly every account of the islands written during the days of Liholiho and the regency.⁵ But despite the undoubted misconduct of many of the deserters from visiting vessels, the situation at Honolulu was scarcely as serious as the people of Nantucket imagined it to be. The administration of John Quincy Adams, however, was not slow in acceding to the petitions which he and his predecessor had received from the whaling interests along the Massachusetts coast. On May 24, 1825, Samuel L. Southard—Secretary of the Navy—forwarded instructions to the commanding officer of the squadron in the Pacific, urging him to secure as complete information concerning the condition of commerce at the islands as was possible, and adding:

“You will afford to our citizens, vessels, and commerce, the protection which may be found to be necessary, and to which they may be lawfully entitled. *You will encourage the best feelings toward our government, nation, and interests; manifesting, on all occasions, that kindness, moderation, and decision, which becomes your own character, and that of the government you represent.*

“One of the definite objects of your visit is to make a proper disposition of the seamen at the Sandwich islands, which are mentioned in the memorial. . . . And the safety of our commerce, as well as the peace and good order of these islands, requires that they should . . . be removed from the

⁵ Otto von Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery*, I, 353; Kotzebue, *New Voyage Round the World*, II, 217; *Quarterly Review*, XVI, 79, 81; Frederick W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific*, p. 432; Charles S. Stewart, *Private Journal of a Voyage to the Pacific*, pp. 156-157; Richards and Stewart to Am. Board, Lahaina, Dec. 1, 1824, in *Miss. Herald*, XXI, 100 (April 1825); Bingham to Evarts, Oahu, Sept. 14, 1829, in *Miss. Letters* (Haw. Miss. Children's Soc., Honolulu), II, 375; Paulding, *Cruise of the Dolphin*, p. 225.

scenes of the mischief they are promoting and perpetrating."⁶

Commodore Hull, to whom these instructions were addressed, selected Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commander of the U. S. S. *Peacock*, to visit the Hawaiian Islands on the mission ordered by the Navy Department.⁷ After brief visits to the Marquesas and Tahiti, Jones arrived at Honolulu in October, 1826. The relatively small foreign community on Oahu was agitated by more than usual excitement, for the perennial breach which separated the American missionaries from a majority of the other foreigners at Honolulu appeared even more pronounced than was normally true. Before Jones had either time or opportunity to discuss the business of his visit with the local authorities or with his countrymen at the islands, this intra-community feud flared up when the members of the mission challenged their opponents to prove that they had interfered improperly in the affairs of government or commerce.⁸ This challenge was not destined long to go unanswered. Testing the sincerity of the missionaries, a group of foreign residents—headed by J. C. Jones, Jr., Richard Charlton, Eliab Grimes, Stephen Reynolds, John Meek, John Dominis, O. K. Wildes, and Dixey Wildes—replied that no better opportunity for an investigation could be desired than was offered by the presence of the *Peacock*, which had recently arrived at Honolulu.⁹ The missionaries, without hesitation, announced their readiness to have the merits of their case determined by a gathering of the foreigners in Honolulu after a presentation of testimony by witnesses;¹⁰ and after some negotiations it was agreed that the rival groups should meet at the home of Governor Boki, in the presence of Captain Jones. A letter, dated December 6, 1826, and signed by Richard Charlton, J. C. Jones, Jr., Stephen Reynolds, William

⁶ Southard to Hull, Navy Department (Washington), May 24, 1825, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 8.

⁷ Hull to Jones, Callao Bay, May 25, 1826, in *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁸ *Miss. Herald*, XXIII, 241 (Aug. 1827). This letter is reprinted in part in Hiram Bingham, *Sandwich Islands*, pp. 300-301. Stephen Reynolds, that indefatigable chronicler of the events and rumors of early Honolulu, reported that this circular letter was sent "to all residents and masters of vessels." *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Oct. 27, 1826.

⁹ The original copy of the reply, undated, is in Arch. of Haw., *Hist. and Misl.*

¹⁰ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Nov. 1, 1826.

Buckley, William French, E. Grimes, Dixey Wildes and John Dominis, asserted that the signers had no desire to investigate the activities of the American mission, but were pleased that the missionaries intended to defend the validity of their policies for "correcting the evils which exist in this heathen land." They were therefore, they wrote, ready to afford the missionaries an impartial hearing and listen to the testimony of witnesses.¹¹ Two days later, the long-anticipated meeting of missionaries and foreign residents to discuss their differences occurred under conditions that promised a dramatic occasion; but if there were any persons present who had come solely to be entertained they must have been sorely disappointed. Both the missionaries and their opponents seem to have hesitated to take the initiative, but after some delay it appeared that the former had come merely to defend their cause against any written objections which their antagonists might present, and as the latter declined to produce any charges or criticisms in writing, an impasse was quickly reached. When the missionaries refused to be drawn into any oral discussion of their differences with the foreign residents, Captain Jones suggested an adjournment.¹² Impressed with the willingness of the missionaries to meet the foreign residents and by the failure of the latter to meet the demands of the missionaries for a written presentation of any criticisms, Jones asserted that the meeting had resulted in the "most perfect, full, complete, and triumphant victory for the missionaries that could have been asked by their most devoted friends."¹³ The verdict of Jones is open to question, for no discussion had been held and the two parties had merely been unable to agree upon a mutually agreeable method of conducting an investigation; but it is difficult to doubt that the American mission had achieved one notable success—the gaining

¹¹ This letter is now in Arch. of Haw., *Hist. and Misl.*

¹² *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Dec. 8, 1826; Bingham, *Sandwich Islands*, pp. 301-302; *Miss. Herald*, XXIII, 242 (Aug. 1827).

¹³ Bingham, *Sandwich Islands*, p. 303. It appears that Jones showed considerable interest in the mission and that the missionaries were much pleased with his seeming friendliness. Sixteen years later, Gerrit P. Judd recalled Jones' "known philanthropy, and the ardor of your attachment to the interests of these islands." *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 4.

of the sympathy and friendship of an important American naval officer. After his arrival at Oahu, Jones had frequently met men opposed to the mission, and it was believed that strenuous efforts were made to prejudice him against the work of the missionaries.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Jones was so impressed by the conduct and professions of the members of the mission that he considered the otherwise unsatisfactory meeting of the rival groups to be a vindication of the mission, and before his departure it was reported that the commander of the *Peacock* was "very much against his countrymen in favor of Bingham," and that he had said that the latter "must and ought to have the lead."¹⁵ The mission had won a life-long friend.

In what seems to have been his first official note to the Hawaiian rulers, Captain Jones announced his desire to negotiate some agreement whereby the desertion of seamen from American vessels might be prevented and the fears of the Nantucket masters be rendered groundless.¹⁶ But before there was time for any mature consideration of a treaty, another problem had been presented to the visiting commander. On December 11, a group of American traders at Honolulu united in signing a petition urging Jones to speak to the chiefs about the payment of debts which it was said they owed to Americans at the islands.¹⁷ Three days later it was reported that Jones had called upon the chiefs "to talk of old debts and other important matters."¹⁸

That the traders intended to raise the question of the debts of the government when an opportunity was presented seems to have been well known to the missionaries; and at least one of their number, Levi Chamberlain, expected the visit to Honolulu early in 1826 of the U. S. S. *Dolphin*, commanded by Lieutenant Percival, to result in an agreement concerning this vexatious question. Indeed, Chamber-

¹⁴ Loomis to Evarts, Baltimore, June 24, 1827, in *Miss. Letters*, III, 837.

¹⁵ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Jan. 4, 1827. While at Honolulu, Captain Jones attended an examination of about five hundred native pupils, representing schools established by the American missionaries. Reynolds, who certainly was not prejudiced in favor of either the mission or its schools, confided to his journal that Jones was highly gratified with the "astonishing improvement" shown by the pupils. *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1826.

¹⁶ T. ap C. Jones to Kamehameha III, Dec. 1826, in *Arch. of Haw., F. O. and Ex.*

¹⁷ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Dec. 11, 1826.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1826.

lain appears to have hoped that such an agreement would be made, for he expressed the hope that the chiefs would soon be able to extricate themselves from their indebtedness and thereafter be more careful in such matters.¹⁹ Percival, however, became involved in disputes of an entirely different nature, and as a result became decidedly *persona non grata* to the Hawaiian government. It is not unlikely that some knowledge of the alleged grievances of the American merchants on Oahu had reached the attention of Commodore Hull, for in his instructions to Captain Jones he had declared that among the things that should claim the attention of Jones at the Hawaiian Islands were "claims for property belonging to citizens of the United States, on persons now residing at the Sandwich Islands."²⁰

Foremost among the Americans who claimed to be long-suffering creditors of the native government were Captain Ebbets, Captain Thomas Meek, William Denny, William French and John C. Jones, Jr., and his partners.²¹ Inasmuch as the titular agent of the Washington government was among the most prominent of the claimants, it is not unlikely that Captain Jones was easily persuaded to make the settlement of those debts a principal object of his visit to Honolulu. After a week or more of friendly intercourse with the chiefs, during which he urged them to consider their obligations to their creditors, Jones and the Hawaiian rulers at length reached an agreement satisfactory to the native chiefs and acceptable to those who professed to be their creditors.²² The claims which Jones was thus called upon to settle were not all of a recent date; on the contrary, many of them had been inherited from the extravagant days of Liholiho.²³ Inasmuch as during the greater part of

19 Chamberlain to Anderson, Lahaina, Feb. 7, 1826, in *Miss. Letters*, II, 458.

20 Hull to T. ap C. Jones, Callao Bay, May 25, 1826, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 13.

21 *Supplement to the Report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 1856, p. 21.

22 Statements of John Meek, Kanaina, Kekuanaoa and John II, in *ibid.*, p. 24. In 1856, John Meek—who had been at Honolulu during the visit of the *Peacock*—told the American Commissioner that Jones spent a month or more in investigating the amount owed by the Hawaiian government to American traders. *Diary of D. L. Gregg*, Jan. 10, 1856.

23 Describing those claims, Thomas ap C. Jones—more than ten years after his visit to the islands—wrote that they were "due by the late king Tamahamaha, of the Sandwich Islands, to sundry citizens of the United States; (which debt the successors of Tamahamaha had refused to recognize, and the claimants, as the last

the period that these debts had existed the native authorities had been unable to read or write, and probably never had acquired any clear understanding of the idea of interest, all the written evidence of the amount of principal and interest due from the Hawaiian government rested upon the fragile foundation of the integrity of those who pressed the debts. Probably aware of this fact, Captain Jones greatly reduced the amount of the claims as they had been submitted to him by his countrymen, and then prevailed upon the native chiefs to agree to pay a sum, said to have been five hundred thousand dollars, to satisfy those claims.²⁴ Apparently Jones was less scrupulous in seeking the approbation of the creditors before concluding an agreement with the government, for more than ten days after he and the regents had agreed upon the sum that was due to the traders, Stephen Reynolds, one of the creditors and usually well informed on what occurred in Honolulu, had heard nothing of Jones' arrangement in regard to the debts.²⁵

Having removed this difficulty, Jones proceeded to the negotiation of a formal treaty with the regents of the kingdom. This treaty, which seems to have been the first formal agreement contracted by the Hawaiian government, was signed by Jones and the representatives of the mid-Pacific kingdom on December 23, 1826. It was almost wholly devoted to the protection of American commerce; and, in addition to the indispensable clause requiring the Hawaiian authorities to suppress desertion from American vessels, secured to the United States and its citizens the

resort, had claimed the interposition of our government)." Jones to Hoffman, Washington, May 3, 1838, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 22.

²⁴ T. ap C. Jones to Hoffman, Washington, May 3, 1838, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 21-23; *The Friend*, March 1, 1854, pp. 17-18; *Supplement to the Rept. of the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 1856, pp. 21-28; Wyllie to Reiners, Honolulu, Feb. 23, 1857, in *App. to Rept. Minister of For. Affairs*, 1858, p. 135. In 1856, Gerrit P. Judd declared that he had been informed by Governor Kekuanaoa, who was at Honolulu when Jones and the regents agreed as to the amount to be paid, that the American commander reduced the claims of his countrymen from \$750,000 to \$500,000—an amount which the chiefs admitted to be just. *Diary of D. L. Gregg*, Aug. 27, 1855. On the contrary, Hiram Bingham, certainly one of the best informed men in Honolulu at that time, estimated the national debt to be about \$160,000 in March, 1827. It is scarcely conceivable that the government could have paid more than \$300,000 within two months of the time when Captain Jones had set the amount they were to pay. Bingham to Evarts, Honolulu, March 4, 1827, in *Miss. Letters*, II, 323. In 1838 Jones declared that as a result of his visit to the islands he had secured the "subsequent payment of over \$500,000 . . .". Jones to Hoffman, Washington, May 3, 1838, in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 22.

²⁵ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Jan. 2, 1827.

position of the "most favored nation" in the levying of tariffs by the Hawaiian government, and obligated the latter to assist actively in the salvaging of shipwrecked American vessels.²⁶ Despite the seeming willingness with which the regency met the claims of the American traders and signed the treaty desired by Jones, the latter was not wholly satisfied with conditions in the islands, and two days after the signing of the treaty he reported that it was his belief that the protection offered by the Hawaiian government to foreign seamen was inadequate.²⁷

It is difficult to understand why a treaty, so obviously favorable to the development and protection of American commerce in the north Pacific and which did not make any significant concessions to the Hawaiian government, should have failed to command the approval of the administration and the United States Senate, but the treaty never reached the floor of the Senate. With the failure of the American government to accept the treaty, it would seem that it could not have attained a recognized place in the foreign policy of either of the nations which had been a party to its negotiation. Nevertheless, for more than a decade, after Captain Jones had secured the signatures of Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku to this abortive treaty, American officials and residents in the Hawaiian Islands were seeking to impress upon the perplexed chiefs the sanctity of this agreement which the government of the United States had refused to accept. In September, 1831, a group of Americans at Honolulu, including Hiram Bingham, Stephen Reynolds and Captain Cole discussed the proper interpretation of the treaty, but no one appears to have questioned its status.²⁸ A year later, an American naval officer informed the King that American citizens had acquired claims against the Hawaiian government by the treaty of 1826;²⁹ in October 1836,

²⁶ The text of the treaty may be found in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 19-20, or in *For. Rel. of the U. S.*, 1894, App. II, pp. 35-36. There appears to be no foundation for Beechey's statement that the treaty was one of alliance. Cf. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific*, p. 429.

²⁷ Jones to ?, Honolulu, Dec. 25, 1826, in *For. Rel. of the U. S.*, 1894, App. II, p. 36.

²⁸ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Sept. 14, 1831.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1832.

Commodore Kennedy, an American naval officer, in a written communication to the King, twice referred to the Jones treaty as though it were binding upon the Hawaiian rulers;³⁰ and in the following May, John C. Jones, Jr., in an even more emphatic manner, urged Kamehameha III to respect the provisions of the Treaty of 1826.³¹ Apparently the Hawaiian chiefs believed that the treaty was binding upon both countries, for, in December 1837, Kinau, the Hawaiian premier, referred to it in a letter to President Van Buren with apparent confidence that it was still valid.³² Five years later, with the advent of foreign advisers in the councils of the third Kamehameha, the Hawaiian rulers began to question the status of the treaty, and the Hawaiian Commissioners to the United States officially asked Secretary Webster for information upon that subject, adding that inasmuch as they had not known whether the treaty was actually binding upon them, they had always conformed to its provisions.³³

Although it is probable that the people of the Hawaiian Islands had suffered from the destruction of their crops by excess rains during the year 1826,³⁴ the native chiefs did not hesitate to impose upon their subjects the additional burden of a special taxation to meet the debts which had been acknowledged during the visits of Captain Jones. Upon each man in the kingdom there was imposed a tax of four Spanish dollars, which might be met by payment of one half picul of sandalwood, or other product of equal value. To secure the full amount of the debt, the chiefs imposed upon each woman a tax of one Spanish dollar, and ordered the amount assessed to be paid by both men and

³⁰ Kennedy to Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), Honolulu, Oct. 7, 1836, Arch. of Haw., F. O. and Ex. Cf. Adolphe Barrot, "Visit of the French Sloop of War 'Bonite' to the Sandwich Islands in 1836," in *The Friend*, Nov. 15, 1850, pp. 89-90.

³¹ J. C. Jones, Jr. to Kamehameha III, May 23, 1837, in Arch. of Haw., F. O. and Ex.

³² Kinau to President of the United States, Honolulu, Dec. 2, 1837, in *ibid.*

³³ Richards and Haalilio to Webster, Washington, Dec. 14, 1842, in *For. Rel. of the U. S.*, 1894, App. II, pp. 41-42. While Richards and Haalilio were in the United States seeking to have the relations between the Hawaiian kingdom and the United States more clearly defined, G. P. Judd, who was the chief adviser to Kamehameha III, wrote to T. ap C. Jones, and speaking of the 1826 treaty, called it "the present treaty." *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 4.

³⁴ Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific*, p. 233.

women before the first of the following September.³⁵ This policy was announced to the inhabitants of Honolulu on the second of January;³⁶ four days later, Jones, having accomplished the purposes of his mission, departed from Honolulu.³⁷ His visit of less than three months had sufficed not only to secure the consent of the chiefs to his various proposals, but he had also been able to remove from Oahu a group of deserters whose presence at Honolulu menaced the peace of that place and might have induced other visiting seamen to emulate their example.³⁸

As but few of the natives could hope to muster the enormous sum of four Spanish dollars, the only possible method by which many of them could meet this tax was to abandon their ordinary pursuits and retire to the hills of their own island in search of the required amount of sandalwood. So general was the exodus of natives from the villages of the several islands that it attracted the attention of foreign observers throughout the early months of 1827.³⁹ Although as prominent a spokesman of the American mission as Levi Chamberlain looked upon the efforts of the chiefs to pay their debts as "highly creditable,"⁴⁰ both the rather harsh methods adopted by the rulers to secure the necessary amount and the policy followed by Captain Jones in gaining the recognition of that debt have been severely criticised by later commentators. Charlton, British Consul at Honolulu, who lost no love for anything that might enhance the influence or prestige of the United States among the Hawaiian people, wrote, in 1839: "The visit of Commodore Ap Catesby Jones at Oahu in the year 1826, in the United States Ship *Peacock*, tended more to injure the morals of the natives of Honolulu than all

³⁵ Chamberlain to Evarts, Honolulu, March 2, 1827, in *Miss. Letters*, II, 486; *The Friend*, March 1, 1854, p. 18. A copy of the decrees of the Hawaiian government providing for the collection of the taxes may be found in *House Report*, no. 92, 28 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 18-19.

³⁶ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Jan. 2, 1827.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1827.

³⁸ Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 1, 1827, in *House Ex. Doc.*, no. 2, 20 Cong., 1 sess., p. 201.

³⁹ *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Jan. 22, 23, 1827; Chamberlain to Evarts, Honolulu, Feb. 22, 1827, in *Miss. Letters*, II, 482; Bingham to Same, Oahu, March 4, 1827, in *ibid.*, II, 323.

⁴⁰ Chamberlain to Evarts, Honolulu, March 2, 1827, in *Miss. Letters*, II, 486.

others who have ever visited these Islands during my residence here.”⁴¹

Charlton's comment upon the visit of Jones seems altogether unjust, but it is probable that it accurately represented the resentment of those whose claims had been reduced by that officer, as well as the feeling of those who had been offended by the friendship existing between Jones and the American missionaries. The resentment of Charlton and his friends, however, did not represent as serious an attack on the prestige of Jones as did the criticisms of Robert C. Wyllie more than a decade later. Wyllie, who was for more than twenty years Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Hawaiian kingdom, used a portion of his annual report in 1855 to characterize the methods by which Jones had obtained the payment of the debts claimed by the American traders as “the hard penalties which the superior civilization exacts of inferior.”⁴² This thinly veiled accusation aroused no little comment, and the American Commissioner at Honolulu—David L. Gregg—sought to secure from residents of the islands such evidence as would tend to refute any reflection upon the policy or character of Jones. It is worthy of note, as a defense of the conduct of Jones, that nearly thirty years after his visit in the *Peacock* had passed into history, Gregg was able to secure an ample defense of his activities at the islands, alike from the missionaries and the traders whose ideas so often had run counter to the ideals of the mission.⁴³ Two years after he had made his original accusation, Wyllie partially retracted his criticism, writing that he was convinced that Jones had the welfare of both nations at heart when he negotiated the abortive treaty of 1826.⁴⁴

To estimate the significance of the visit of the *Peacock*

⁴¹ *Sandwich Islands Gazette*, May 4, 1839.

⁴² *Report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs*, 1855, p. 4. Thirty years later another Hawaiian cabinet official revived these charges and even accused Jones of having used threats and bribery to secure the promises of the chiefs to satisfy his demands. Gibson to Carter, Honolulu, June 15, 1885, in *Appendix to Rept. Minister of For. Affairs*, 1886, pp. xiii-xxii.

⁴³ A. Bishop to Gregg, Ewa, Jan. 14, 1856, in *Supplement to Rept. of Min. of For. Affairs*, 1856, p. 18; John Meek to Same, Honolulu, Jan. 10, 1856, in *ibid.*, pp. 19-20; *Diary of David L. Gregg*, Aug. 25, 27, 1855; Jan. 10, 1856.

⁴⁴ Wyllie to Reiners, Honolulu, Feb. 23, 1857, in *Appendix to Rept. of Min. of For. Affairs*, 1858, p. 135.

to Honolulu in 1826 is, of course, no easy task. Jones arrived at the islands at a time when the breach between the American missionaries and the remaining members of the foreign community was particularly evident; subsequent events focused his attention upon this unhappy situation and resulted in his becoming an ardent champion of the mission. Friends of the mission gave wide publicity to his views, but how far his praise of its labors and policies carried weight in the United States cannot be known. He was reported to have "obtained much valuable information in relation to our commerce" and to have negotiated arrangements from which "it is hoped security and advantage will result to our vessels visiting them, either for refreshment or trade."⁴⁵ He seems to have been the first of a series of American naval officers to secure for his countrymen on Oahu a payment of the debts that had been mounting since the death of the first Kamehameha, but he failed to impress upon the chiefs the desirability of not again permitting their obligations to accumulate, and for years his successors were compelled to seek an adjustment of debts which American traders insisted were long past due.⁴⁶ The treaty which he negotiated with the regents remained for a decade the only agreement of its kind into which the Hawaiian government had entered; and while Charlton appealed alternately to the wrath or traditional friendship of Great Britain, John C. Jones, Jr. and American naval officers might, if they wished, appeal to the sanctity of a treaty which the native authorities, at least, believed to be binding upon them.

It is more difficult to measure the effect of the visit of Jones upon the conceptions of the Hawaiian people and their rulers. From the time of Cook, Great Britain seems to have occupied a unique place in the thoughts of the Hawaiian chiefs. Kamehameha and Liholiho alike looked upon England as a friend and protector, and that feeling of de-

⁴⁵ Report of Sec'y of Navy, Dec. 1, 1827, in *House Ex. Doc.*, no. 2, 20 Cong., 1 sess., p. 200.

⁴⁶ Charles S. Stewart, *Visit to the South Seas*, II, 212; J. N. Reynolds, *Voyage of the Potomac*, p. 414; *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, Aug. 14, 1832.

pendence upon distant Britain had not disappeared in 1826. Meanwhile the economic and educational dominance which natives of the United States were rapidly gaining in the Hawaiian Islands was not reflected in any similar increase in the political prestige of their country among the leaders of Hawaiian public life. In no slight degree the true significance of Thomas ap Catesby Jones in the history of the Hawaiian people rests upon the extent to which he was able to impress upon the Hawaiians that Great Britain and the United States were nations of equal importance. Jones later asserted that he had been the first to give the chiefs any adequate information of the power or significance of the United States, and he believed that his refutation of the claims of the British Consul to exclusive privileges for his nation had been effective in altering the views of the regents upon the relative position of Great Britain and the United States.⁴⁷ That a notable change occurred in the outlook of the Hawaiian rulers is certain. Never again were they to view England with the same sympathy that had marked the concepts of Kamehameha and his son and which appeared likely to be perpetuated by the visit and tact of Lord Byron in 1825. To ascribe to Captain Jones the principal part in causing this mental transition would be absurd, for the influence of missionaries and merchants was unquestionably powerful, but the commander of the *Peacock* cannot be dismissed as unimportant when the historian seeks to assess responsibility for the eclipse of British prestige in the islands and its replacement by American dominance.

Stanford University,
January 29, 1931.

⁴⁷ Jones to Dobbin, Prospect Hill, Va., Dec. 29, 1855, in *Supplement to Rept. of Min. of For. Affairs*, 1856, p. 9.

REMINISCENCES OF HANAIEI, KAUAI

Josephine Wundenberg King

(Read before the Kauai Historical Society April 27, 1917)

Hanalei being my birthplace, and where my first fifteen years were spent, my reminiscences will naturally be those of an early childhood.

I was born April 16, 1848, on the Hanalei Plantation at Limanui on the banks of the Hanalei river, where my father G. F. Wundenberg, located about a year after he was married, and had built a small wooden house, and was planting coffee, and raising potatoes. He had lived at Kuna prior to this where he was engaged in the cultivation of coffee also.

My mother came to Hanalei late in 1845 on a visit with her sister and brother-in-law, the Joseph Smiths from Tahiti, where she was born—she was the daughter of the Rev. Wm. Henry, one of a band of English missionaries who were sent out to Tahiti by the London Missionary Society in 1796, and met and married father on December 12, 1845, at Kikiula where Mr. Rhodes lived and planted coffee.

Their wedding took place under an orange tree in front of the house that the Smiths occupied, Mr. Rowell of Wai-mea, Kauai, performing the ceremony. They rode on horse back to their home in Kuna, about two miles distant, in the evening, and were overtaken by a heavy rain. Mother fell from her horse during the ride and father loved to tell of finding her sitting in a mud puddle crying when he turned back to see why she was not following. The road was only a trail and they had to travel Indian file. Poor mother, what a brave woman she was. I often think of what her life must have been there far away from her own people. She went back to visit her mother in Sydney, Australia, in her old age, and sleeps beside her mother and grandfather

in a little church yard at Ryde on the Paramatta river.

My earliest recollections are of gathering mulberries on the banks of the river with my sister Antoinette and our old nurse, Poopuu, and staining my dress with the juice of the fruit. Mother used mulberries a great deal for puddings, pies and preserves.

My brother Fred was born at Limanui, too, in 1850. Mr. Abner Wilcox had loaned father a cow for his benefit and one of my vivid recollections was seeing her tied up and milked. She was a young black cow and was very wild and hard to manage. Mother said that she was glad if she got a quart of milk a day, or the bucket was not kicked over, and the baby had to be fed on Pia made with water only. Mother made the Pia herself from the arrow-root gathered in the hills across the river. She used an old Tahitian "Umete" to prepare it in, one that she had brought from Tahiti.

In 1851, H.B.M.S. *Enterprise*, an arctic discovery vessel commanded by Capt. Collinson, called at Hanalei on her way to England from Alaska where she had been in search of tidings of Sir John Franklin the great arctic explorer. Some of her officers were under arrest for mutiny and were afterwards court-martialed in England. While in Hanalei getting supplies, the Britishers were greatly entertained by the English and French residents there, the Rhodes and Dudoits among others. Two of the Lieutenants, Parks and Jago, are remembered well by me for while at our house one afternoon to say "good-bye" one of them stole a yellow curl from my head, and another took my sisters little blue silk bag which she was filling with black sand on the path way, and we always childishly hoped that they too were court-martialed.

Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey Rhodes lived at Kikiula while we lived at Limanui, and I remember going across the river in a canoe paddled by my mother to visit them with her, always returned home laden with red cottage roses and heliotrope. Mrs. Rhodes had a beautiful garden and many flowers that we never see any more. She came from Aus-

tralia and must have gotten her seeds from there. The orange red amaryllis which is so common on Kauai was first raised in Hanalei and grew in large quantities at Kikiula and the "Clitoria Tenata" vine with the dark blue flowers, sometimes called the butter-fly vine, which grew all over Mrs. Rhodes' house, a small stone, two-roomed one, with a veranda facing the east, was first planted there. It is a native of the East Indies. Mr. Thomas Brown brought many plants and flowers here also. He planted the Magnolia tree at Kikiula which survives there yet. It came from England. Its mate was planted at Wailua. Mrs. Brown was Mr. Rhodes' sister. They came to settle in the islands and located with their family of four children at Wailua where I remember being taken with my sisters to visit them in 1852. We were carried across the country in home-made cots of brown cotton, hung on poles between two Hawaiian men who carried them on their shoulders and went on a jog trot. While crossing the Wailua river at the upper ford, my sister Anna and I got ducked in the water. The tide was high and the cot not water proof, but we were not hurt, only pretty well frightened. My recollections of the spot where we crossed was that it was very beautiful and I am sure that there were coffee trees growing there. Early every morning Alice Brown the only daughter, several years my senior, took me with her for a cold water plunge in a big green tub in a bathroom off her mother's bedroom, and on one occasion, we stopped for a peep at Mr. and Mrs. Brown asleep in their big four-poster bed. There was no net on the bed. I think that mosquitoes were scarce then. We tiptoed and climbed on a stool to get a good look, and for the first time in my four years of existence I saw a "night cap," and Mrs. Brown's sweet face wreathed in frills and lace. It is a picture that has always remained with me most vividly.

We left Hanalei sometime in 1853 and went to Honolulu to live but returned again in two years time, Mr. Wyllie having bought the coffee interests there and given father the management of the place. We went down on the little

sloop "Sally" with Captain Fountain. There were only two bunks in the tiny cabin so we youngsters had to lie on a mattress on the floor. My sister Mary was born in town and was a baby only a year old at this time; fortunately the trip was not longer than twelve hours. The "Sally" was a fine sailor, but we were glad to get on shore and went up to Mr. Kellett's house at Lanihuli to stay until Mr. Rhodes was ready to give my father possession of the manager's house. Mr. Kellett was the pilot at Hanalei harbor, and came to the islands in 1825. He was an Englishman, a sailor and always reminded us of old "Masterman Ready" in Capt. Marryatt's story of that name (a wonderfully interesting tale of a ship wreck and a cast-away family on an island in the Indian Ocean.) He had a rather bent figure, was very spare, and had long white hair which hung in curly waves on his shoulders and he walked with his feet well turned out, as was the style of a man-o'-wars-man in those days. He had a Hawaiian wife and a family of two daughters, Mary and Betty, and five sons. The youngest and last survivor of the family, Paalua, died recently in Honolulu at the age of sixty-five years.

When we moved to Kikiula after the Rhodes left in 1855, father added a wooden clap-board structure to the stone house, which they had built and lived in, and put on a top story and had it lathed and plastered, by a man named Joseph Hayward, a mason and plasterer. He plastered the end of the stone part which extended to the front veranda to imitate the wooden clap-boards on the new part of the house, and made a very good job of it. A man by the name of Lawton did the wooden part of the work. The house was painted white and the roof red, as were all the buildings that were shingled on the place. The red material was the clay found in the hills near by, which wore well when mixed with a little lime to make it stick. Water was led into the yard and bath-rooms at this time from a spring in the ravine back of the house, by means of bamboo troughs. Father had a tin lined box placed on the roof over the bath-room with a purchase for letting water down

through a perforated tin for a shower. A ladder led to the roof and daily it was the yard man's job to keep it filled with water by bucket.

Father planted a Castilian rose hedge along the side of the garden next to the road, which was a grand sight when covered with its sweet scented pink flowers and was one of the things Hanalei was famous for, together with its fields of coffee in bloom—the white starry blossoms looking like snow on the drooping branches, and delighting the eye for nearly a mile along the river bank.

Our servants were all Hawaiians with the exception of Goka a Chinese steward, who was a superior man and afterwards married a Hawaiian wife, and kept a store on the hill near Lanihuli.

One of the well known old timers in Hanalei was old Charley Griffiths—an old sea faring man who came to the Islands with the Thomas Browns and lived at Wailua until they went away in 1854. He came to Kikiula in 1855 and entered father's employ on the plantation as general utility man. He did everything on the place that a mechanic was needed for. He made furniture and Juliet Rice has a little koa rocking chair that he made for my sister Lina, when she was a little girl. He made rain-coats from oiled twilled cotton, horse whips from hides with ivory handles from whale's teeth, and could do what blacksmithing was needed. We did not shoe our horses, but there were plows to mend and harnesses to repair. He lived in a little two-roomed cottage on the knoll over the river where the path passes on its way to the sugar mill. The house at Limanui was taken down and lumber moved across the river and rebuilt for him. It was one of our delights to visit the old man in his den and have him tell us wonderful tales of his sea life. Once he gave us a colored picture of the Virgin Mary in a frame that he had made. We hung it in our school room and shocked the Johnson girls by having a Catholic picture in our house. I have a little Hawaiian bird's nest—the "Elepaio," a pert little brown bird, that Griffith cut from an orange tree for me. It is made of skeleton orange leaves

and bits of grass, and is in a very good state of preservation still.

In 1857 Lizzie Johnson came to stay a few months with us to teach the young ideas, and give us some book learning—none of us had ever been to school and mother found it very hard to get time to teach us anything but our prayers which part of our education she never forgot nor neglected and I discovered in later years that I knew as much about the Bible as many young people did who had had very many more advantages than we had. Miss Johnson soon had us making up for lost time with our lessons, and the foundation that was laid then was one which bore good results in more ways than one, and I am very grateful to her for what she taught me. Then our little world seemed to widen and life took on new interests for the little kuaaina's.

It was one of our greatest pleasures to visit at the mission, and quite a gala day when we went to spend the day with either the Wilcox's or the Johnson's. Being rowed in our boat as far as Titcombs' landing and walking the other mile when we were too big to be carried. At the Wilcox's it was our delight to have a ride with the boys, Sam and Luther, on their land turtle, and climb trees with them. They had a fine garden, and some of the best and most delicious figs I have ever tasted either on the islands or in California. They had a very nice white guava too which was a treat to us as we had none at our place, although we had the best Hawaiian peaches and lots of strawberries. There were two large bearing aligator pear trees in our garden, but we did not care for the fruit. Once I saw a cat eating one that had fallen on the ground. She evidently knew what was good.

In 1858, sometime in October, a great comet (Donati's) appeared in the heavens. It was a very large and brilliant one. I was ten years old then, and recollect it distinctly. It was of such size that when its head was near the western horizon the extremity of the tail reached nearly to the Zenith. We had many fine views of it from the planta-

tion house which commands a splendid view of the valley below and the sky above.

Mr. Archibald Archer was staying with us at the time—he was a Pookii resident, although he had lived in Hanalei with father at one time previously. He was part Scotch and part Norwegian gentleman—an engineer by profession and often came to help father with the machinery of the coffee mill. A room in our house was called Mr. Archer's room, and was kept in readiness for him at all times. He was a great reader, had many books, and always gave us children books for Christmas and birthday presents. He was a very humane man, and I remember getting a great lecture from him once for trapping some little red birds with bread-fruit gum, and putting them into a cage, thinking to tame them. He made me let them go free and promise never to keep birds in captivity again. He went to join a brother of his in Queensland, Australia, in 1859, and became a sheep-grazer there, also a member of Parliament in Brisbane later in life. He visited Mr. Widemann in Honolulu twenty-five years ago and has since died at an advanced age.

Mr. Widemann, one of Kauai's early kamaainas, was a frequent visitor at our house in the early days. He and father were old friends in Germany; they came from the same town, Hildesheim, in Hanover and Mr. Widemann followed my father to the islands in either 1856 or 1857. He gave me my first box of drawing pencils and water colors, when I was about ten years old, after visiting my studio—a room under one of the out-houses where we were wont to play in the rainy weather and draw and color pictures on the fly leaves taken from books. My brushes being matches or bits of stick softened at the end, and my paint colors taken from our toys which came from Sydney. "Necessity" was certainly "the mother of invention" in this case. Mother received many of her house-hold goods from the English colonies in those days, wearing apparel and preserves, and even honey in bottles, which I have always thought was the finest I have ever eaten. Books came to

us, too, from our grand-parents and shoes for dress occasions but our every day shoes were made by Johnnie Mitchell, a shoe and saddle-maker who lived at Moloaa and later had a tannery near the stony brook at Kilauea.

In 1859 mother took her family of children on a visit to the Widemann's at Lihue. We rode on horseback as far as Kealia where we were met by a man with the "Great Eastern"—a huge covered wagon drawn by four horses. One was named "Salem" and it was "whoa Salem" until we reached Grove Farm. We got into the quick sands crossing the Kealia river, but the horses soon pulled out safely. The Wailua river was crossed by a ferry boat, if I remember rightly. Mr. Widemann's place was a windy and very barren one, with no shade trees or plants about, but plenty of house room and long verandas.

We visited the Rice's and Hardy's from there. The latter lived at Malumalu and one night my sister Anna and myself were allowed to sleep there in a little grass house near the main dwelling, but we were afraid at being alone and away from mother, and did not enjoy the experience nor the bed which was a mattress stuffed with dry banana leaves, which crackled loudly every time one moved, and kept us from sleeping soundly.

The red and rose-scented geraniums around Mrs. Rice's house impressed us with that lovely home, also the big kukui trees that grew there. I had been to the place once before, when the Jas. B. Marshalls lived there, but only remember Mrs. Marshall and a little toy flat iron which she gave to my sister, who still has it.

In the summer of 1860 King Kamehameha Fourth and Queen Emma with their little son the Prince, or "Haku of Hawaii," Albert Edward Kauikeaouli, with Mr. Wyllie came to visit the plantation and it was then that the name was changed to "Princeville." Mr. Wyllie, having no private residence of his own, brought his company to our house, and mother and father entertained them as they would have their own friends. We all learned to like their majesties very much. They were both charming people and the little

prince a dear little boy of two years. "Madam" Namekaha was his nurse. She afterwards married Kalakaua and became Queen Kapiolani in 1875.

She was a lovely sweet woman and we became great friends. She ate her meals with the Prince at the children's table, and was with us a great deal. She helped me to make a little Hawaiian flag out of white and blue cotton cloth and turkey-red, which I flew on my own flag staff, and at the stern of our boat when we went rowing. I used to play tricks on her too, such as putting sand in her private bowl of pink poi and hiding her shoes up in a tree, where she could not get them until I was ready to give them to her, whereby gaining the name of "keikamahini kolohe" which title she was pleased to remember after she became Queen of Hawaii and tease me with.

Mr. Wyllie brought old black George Hyatt and his clarionette with him to Princeville to entertain the company at dinner and play for dancing in the evening. The King and Queen were both fond of dancing, and were delighted with a pretty Tyrolese waltz which my father taught them. Queen Emma went up stairs nearly every evening to have a romp with us girls when we were going to bed, and loved a "pillow fight" as well as any of us. The king was a very entertaining man and loved to dress in disguises for the entertainment of us children. He dressed up as a ghost once and gave himself quite a shock when he peered into a looking glass in a partly darkened room. He was very fond of hunting, too, and often went out with his shot-gun over the plains toward Wanini and brought home plover, and once a lot of quail which were tabu to shoot at the time; he pretended that he did not know that it was against the law to shoot them. Mr. Dudoit had introduced the quail at Kilauea when he and his family lived there a few years before.

The king and queen had brought their row-boats and boat-crews with them, and spent many an afternoon of the six weeks that they were with us, boating and picnicing up the river. Mrs. D. L. Gregg and her family, and Miss Mc-

Kibbin, later Mrs. W. L. Green, were of the party, and mother must have had a strenuous time finding sleeping accommodations for them all and supplying the table, for there were no stores and no supplies to be gotten in Hanalei. Everything had to come from Honolulu.

Mother raised quantities of vegetables in her gardens and was never without potatoes, peas, and all kinds of beans. She had fine beds of asparagus also, which were fertilized with the pulp from the coffee mill—the skins of the coffee beans well rotted. Cabbages, carrots, lettuce, corn, tomatoes, celery, green onions and purple and white eggplants grew well. The latter were like a banana in shape, pure white, and were much more delicate than the dark ones. The Tahitian banana came from Tahiti, it is called the Chinese banana now because the Chinamen have cultivated it so much. We had a delicious little Tahitian pineapple, called the “Queen,” whose core was not hard as in the other varieties. Father planted the first “Vi” trees in Kikiula and a “Mape,” a Tahitian nut tree. Mr. Rock makes mention of the fact in his recent book on trees in Hawaii. We always had lots of chickens and turkeys which roosted in the trees and foraged for themselves, but fresh beef was scarce; mother had some in pickle most of the time of her own corning. Also hams, bacon and sausage of her own curing. We had our own pigs, a suckling costing only a dollar. Mother used the nuts of the Hala for burning in the smoke house which gave her hams a fine flavor. Crooked-necked squashes grew wild everywhere on the hillsides and was one of our staple articles of diet. We had summer squashes and vegetable marrow and cucumbers, lots of papaias and taro and sweet potatoes, so that there was plenty in that line for food. We kept no cows however in the valley, and had to buy our milk from Mr. Kellet. He sold it at a rial (12½ cents) a gallon. Mrs. Wilcox let us have butter sometimes when she had it to spare. Later we got it from Mr. Kroll’s dairy in Kealia.

When Queen Emma returned to town she sent mother a present of a Williams and Ovis sewing machine, a one

thread chain stitch affair, which mother discarded after a time for a Wheeler and Wilson machine; prior to this all the family sewing was done by hand. The native women proved good seamstresses but we girls had to learn to make our own clothes. Mother made my father's coats and pants—the material used being doe skin cloth and blue flannel. Our dresses were made from English calicos and gingham, also turkey-red cloth; father's shirts and all other clothing mostly from unbleached cotton.

It was one of our daily habits to climb the hills behind our house every morning before breakfast and father never forgot to see that we went.

We learned to ride on horseback and to saddle and bridle our own horses and we often spent an afternoon racing over the hills chasing a flock of sheep, or some half wild "bipi." My pet horse was named Napoleon, he was a beautiful black animal, and I loved him very much.

During the summer of 1860 Rev. and Mrs. S. C. Damon of Honolulu, with their family of boys, visited us; the visit was made memorable by Mr. Damon baptizing my two youngest sisters, Lina and Gussie. Captain and Mrs. George Luce and their family of six children spent a month with us, too, and were much regretted when they returned home.

We learned to row a boat also, which was a great recreation and could feather an oar, and catch a "crab," too, sometimes. We called ourselves the Hanalei Boat Club, and thought that we owned the whole river. Once a brother of fathers came to visit us from Germany, and one afternoon took us all for a sail down the river and across the bay to the open sea, and could not get back until he had taken down the sail and the mast, and let us take to our oars. Sometimes we would pull up the river, and if we met another boat of young people would amuse ourselves having a "honuhonu" fight which was lots of fun, especially if one of the party got spilled into the river. Joe Emerson loves to tell of an experience of the kind that he had there once with the Wundenberg girls.

During the civil war in the United States, father's sym-

pathies were with the Southerners, so of course ours were too, and I made a Secesh flag to express our sentiments with, and after flying it in our boat up and down the river one afternoon, my father got a note from Mr. Wyllie asking him to stop our doing so again, as it might involve him in difficulties as minister of foreign affairs in Hawaii, with the United States. Father thought it a good joke, but did not stop us, and we never learned that any complications came through our rash acts.

In 1861 Lady Jane Franklin and Miss Craycroft, Sir John Franklin's niece, came with Mr. Wyllie on a visit to Princeville. They stayed for nearly two months with us, resting and writing. Lady Franklin was getting a book ready for publication. She had been to Alaska to unearth some stories and find some relics of the Franklin expedition to the north pole, and was returning home by way of the Orient. It was at this time that Mr. Wyllie gave her a piece of land on the brow of the hill overlooking Princeville and named it the "Crow's Nest." He fully believed that she would return to the Islands and built a castle there.

She was a small lady with grey hair and keen grey eyes, and had several eccentricities; among them was a whim to sleep in her own bed, which she took about with her, a sort of cot and used in spite of the trouble it often made to find room for it. She took long walks with us children and let her skirts get full of "kukus" which we had to pick out for her while she told us stories of the Norman Kings. She never arose until ten o'clock in the morning, and sat up writing until midnight. She had much to do with making mother dissatisfied with her life at Hanalei, and told her that she did wrong to bring her family up in such a lonely "out of the world" sort of a place, and urged her to let her have my sister Lina to take to England to educate. We met her ten years afterwards in San Francisco, and I dined with her at the Cosmopolitan Hotel one evening.

On May 20, 1861, at Mr. Wyllie's request, father had a big celebration on the plantation in honor of the little Prince of Hawaii's fourth birthday. I wrote an account of it for

Mr. Wyllie and he had the same translated into Hawaiian and printed in the "Hae Hawaii" of July 31, 1861. In September 1862 the little fellow died in Honolulu, of brain fever. The celebration consisted of a parade of two hundred Hawaiian men and women on horseback dressed alike, the men in red and white shirts and blue pants, and the women in red and yellow pau's and maile leis. They rode through the valley, crossed the river and rode to the top of the hill, where a feast and games had been prepared for them and in which the family joined. In the evening large bon fires were lighted in the low lands, and on the hill tops, making a fine display and discharging bombs which resembled cannonading.

In 1862, the coffee trees were uprooted on the Princeville Plantation and sugar cane planted in the valley instead. The coffee had been attacked by a mealy blight, and the returns did not warrant the upkeep, and Mr. Wyllie had gotten the sugar craze. Mr. Titcomb took up his coffee, too, and planted cane, and I think made the first sugar in Hanalei. His mill was run by horse power and he had no centrifugals to dry his sugar but his golden syrup was beautiful.

After father took off the first sugar crop in 1863, we left Hanalei for the second and last time, and I was the only one of the family who returned on visits more than once. Mr. Alexander McGregor took the management when father left.

During 1860 and 1861, Mr. Wyllie bought lands on the hills above Princeville as far as Kalihiwai and added much to the estate. The sugar mill was put up under the supervision of Mr. Heuck, a German, a partner in a mercantile business in town with Mr. von Holt, Sr. The machinery came from Glasgow, Scotland, and cost about forty thousand dollars and was run by steam. The whole plantation was sold at Mr. Wyllie's death in 1866 for twenty thousand dollars.

Chinese laborers had been tried during the fifties, some as early as fifty-one, but father preferred Hawaiians and

could always get all the men he needed among them. Many of them lived on the estate and their wages were twenty-five cents a day. Our house-women were paid three dollars a month and found themselves. They got their fish from the river and the taro grew on the plantation.

I visited Hanalei with two of my sisters in 1866 and was present at the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Bindt—Louise Johnson who was—and while on a horseback trip to the caves at Haena one day I had an adventure in the Wainiha river which was very exciting. I had ridden ahead of the party I was with and started to ford the river with Henry Wilcox, a little lad of nine years of age at the time, not knowing that it was high tide and that the horses would have to swim a long distance. It was too late to turn back, so we had to trust to luck, and to my horse's strength to get across safely which he did, following Henry's horse, and both landing just as my saddle slipped over my horse's tail. I was soaked to my arm pits and pretty badly frightened, but "all's well that ends well." The rest of the party rode up the river bank to the upper ford after watching us safely across; there were no bridges in Wainiha then, although there were ferry scows at Lumahai, Hanalei, and Kalihiwai. I never liked crossing on them, for I was pushed off one at Princeville once by a kicking horse and never got over the fright. Most horses were nervous on them, and they were often leaky and tipped too much for comfort, mentally and otherwise. In the very old times, natives paddled people over the rivers in canoes and swam our horses over for us, which was the safest if not the most convenient method.

In 1867, I lived with the Johnson family in Waioli, teaching with Julia J. in the Government school there. Our hours were from eight o'clock in the morning until twelve. We taught in English but found it an advantage to understand Hawaiian. I cannot remember the text books that we used, with the exception of the geography which was Cornell's. Composition was always hard for the Hawaiians but they liked arithmetic and were very quick at figuring.

Mr. Fornander was school inspector or superintendent at that time and paid us a visit at the end of the summer term which was quite an event for teachers as well as pupils.

There was a blind Hawaiian boy, named Henry, who played very sweetly on a bamboo flute and composed Hawaiian verses sometimes, who often came to visit our school, and during recess hour would entertain us with his plaintive music. The native children were very affectionate and obliging and loved to be with us whenever we were willing to have them, often accompanying us on our horseback rides after school, over the hill and into the valleys gathering ohias, pohas and limes which grew in abundance everywhere. The Johnson's had some very good horses, nearly all named after late American Generals, Sherman being my especial favorite. I rode him all the way from Hanalei to Lihue once, Julia on her Hero, and Mr. McBryde as our escort. He was in a hurry to get home, so we had to make time, too, to keep up with him. We made the trip in about eight hours, resting for dinner about five o'clock at Mr. Kroll's in Kealia.

During that summer the "U.S.S. Lackawanna" under the command of Captain Reynolds, who had lived in Lihue once, came to Hanalei for target practice. She had been in Honolulu for several months, and her captain and officers were all well known there. Mrs. Reynolds came with her husband, also Princess Ruth and Emily Corney, a younger sister of the late Miss Fanny Corney and Mrs. Dudoit. The princess stayed at Waioli with Judge Wana's family and we often saw her lounging on the beach with her retainers and her two little white poodle dogs which she was very fond of. The other ladies visited at Princeville, and John Low the manager entertained the party quite extensively, getting up a large picnic and fish or "kahe" drive on the Hanalei river near Kuna on one occasion to which we were all invited. The kahe was built in the middle of the river near the rapids by a fine kukui grove where the ahaaina or feast was spread. When school was out Julia J. and I rode up the river bank to the rendezvous, and as we neared the

spot where the fish were being driven down and caught, we saw Ruth in a pink muumuu having a bath and finally getting into the "kahe" and catching the mullet herself, beheading, and enjoying the tid-bits that she found. When she emerged later from her dressing-room in the guava bushes in her black silk holoku she looked quite regal and happy as she embraced her lady friends and saluted them in the usual Hawaiian manner.

The Lackawanna had target practice for several days and a number of us from the mission were invited on board on one occasion to luncheon and to witness the exercises which I certainly did not enjoy. The reports from the guns were deafening and the smell of the powder and smoke sickening.

Before the vessel went back to town John Low gave the visitors another picnic and trip to the caves at Haena. Four of the ships boats sailed around and carried the provisions for the lunch, and some of the officers and men. The rest of us went on horseback over the trail. Emily Corney was the only white woman who rode astride with pau's. On the return trip about four o'clock in the afternoon Julia J. and I loaned our horses to two of the officers and went with Lieut. Mead and his crew in one of the boats. We sailed in company with the three other boats and had a long cold trip of four hours beating against a strong breeze which was blowing off shore. John Low was so "huhu" with us for making the trip, but we enjoyed the experience. The sailors in the meantime whiled away the hours singing songs and kept us all in good spirits until we landed safely at eight o'clock on the Waioli beach near the mouth of the Hanalei river where the overland party awaited us with lanterns and our horses.

Among the happiest recollections of my stay at the mission with the Johnson family in 1867 were the very pleasant Sunday evenings which were spent after devotions in singing hymns to the accompaniment of the melodian which Julia or Mrs. Bindt always played. Sunday was a peaceful day. The forenoon was devoted to religious services in the

dear old church, whose bell I often hear in fancy still, calling us to prayers.

Luncheon was a cold meal, all the cooking having been done the previous day. The menu usually consisted of bread and butter and cold meats, pumpkin pies or cakes and raw sliced or sometimes stewed guavas.

I returned to Honolulu and my father's home at Christmas time, and did not visit Hanalei again until September 1889, twenty-two years later, when I returned on a visit with my sister, Mrs. Lina Brown, to find the Koellings living there, and the house where I had passed the happiest days of my life altered and old, nearly all the trees on the river banks gone and the valley planted in rice which gave it a dismal swampy appearance. Cane growing on the hills instead of the lovely old "Hala" trees and fences everywhere, but the river was still there, and the grand old mountains, nothing can destroy or change them and "there Hanalei is sleeping still."

AMERICAN INTERESTS AND AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN HAWAII IN 1842*

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In 1842 American interests and American influence in Hawaii were superior to those of any other foreign power—probably superior to those of all other foreign powers combined. This superiority is attested not only by statistics but by the testimony of many witnesses; it had been attained in spite of the active efforts of British traders and British residents in Hawaii. So far as political influence is concerned, American predominance was achieved at the expense of a prior British predominance, and by 1842 had become so marked that it constituted a subject of complaint by British traders and residents against the Hawaiian government.

While it is not possible to furnish a mathematically exact statistical exhibit of the commerce of the Hawaiian Islands at that time, showing the comparative interest of foreign nations participating, it is possible to make a comparison sufficient for the present purpose. The share of nations other than the United States and Great Britain was negligible; it is only necessary to consider those two. In number of vessels and in volume of business, American traders almost from the beginning had a lead over British traders and the difference between them tended to increase with the passing years.

The principal branch of commerce carried on in the Pacific Ocean during the middle half of the last century was the whaling industry; in the north Pacific the Hawaiian Islands were the entrepot for the whaling fleets of

*It was in 1842 that the United States recognized the independence of the Hawaiian Islands.

all nations. During the twenty year period 1824-1843 the number of arrivals of whaling ships at the port of Honolulu was about 1700, or an average of about 85 annually; nearly 1400 of these were American, slightly more than 300 were British. Taking the last five years of this period and including the port of Lahaina, there were 880 arrivals (average of 176 annually), of which 789 were American (average of 157.8 annually) and 52 were British (average of 10.4 annually).¹ For nearly half a century the whaling industry was the most important factor in the economic life of Hawaii. In 1844, R. C. Wyllie said "it is obvious that the prosperity of these islands has depended, and does depend, mainly upon the whale-ships that annually flock to their ports."² In the light of the statistics given above, this meant that the prosperity of Hawaii depended upon American ships.

In general commerce the disparity between American and British traders was not so marked, but the advantage still lay with the Americans. There are no very satisfactory statistics of imports and exports prior to 1844. An estimate of imports into Honolulu over a period of five and a half years (1836-1841) made by Peirce & Brewer, a leading American firm, shows a total value of a little over two million dollars, of which \$935,000 represented imports from the United States, \$654,000 from the west coast of North and South America (much of this would be in American ships), \$233,000 from China (much of this also in American ships), and \$127,600 from Great Britain.³ Figures for the year 1843 show a total of 40 merchant ships (25 American, 9 British, 4 French, 1 Spanish, 1 German), with total imports ("goods consumed") of the value of \$156,565, of which \$109,297 was in American ships and \$37,849 in British ships.⁴ The British Consul at Honolulu reporting in

¹ Whaling statistics from Wyllie's "Notes" in Honolulu *Friend*, May and Dec., 1844. The figures given do not indicate the number of *ships*, since one ship might arrive twice in the same year, once in the spring and once in the fall. It is supposed that the number of ships was about one-third less than the number of arrivals. The statistics are not official, but are believed to be approximately correct.

² *Friend*, July, 1844.

³ Honolulu *Polynesian*, Sept. 12, 1840; Sept. 4, 1841; *Friend*, June, 1844.

⁴ *Friend*, May, 1844.

February, 1840, on the state of commerce of the Sandwich Islands, says that "the trade is almost entirely in the hands of the citizens of the United States;"⁵ a year later he reiterates this statement with the addition that it has been so for many years.⁶ Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, visited the Hawaiian Islands in March, 1842, and reported to his superiors in London that there were in Honolulu, besides the Hudson's Bay Company's agency, six houses of business "principally American."⁷ Of the six houses named by him, four were American, one British, and one French.

The only extensive agricultural enterprises in the islands were being carried on by Americans. The mercantile firm of Ladd & Company had established itself in Honolulu in 1833 more or less under the patronage of the American missionaries. Through its own efforts and with the influence of the missionaries, the company had won the confidence of the King and chiefs, and in 1835 obtained from the rulers a fifty year lease of a tract of land on the island of Kauai for the purpose of establishing a sugar plantation, with special concessions which gave them the right to employ native labor without the interference of the chiefs. The lease and the other concessions represented a departure from the fixed policy of the government and were in themselves an evidence of the strength of American influence. The plantation was established and within a few years appeared to be in a flourishing condition, with an excellent prospect of permanence and stability.⁸ Prior to this time, under the existing feudal system, the ruling class had shown a strong objection to even a partial surrender of their exclusive

⁵ Charlton to Palmerston, Feb. 9, 1840 (British Public Record Office, F. O. 58/12).

⁶ Charlton to Palmerston, March 11, 1841 (P.R.O., F.O. 58/12). He goes on to speak of an increase in British importations and notes that the Hudson's Bay Company has absorbed the whole of the fur trade on the Northwest Coast, formerly controlled by Americans. A Foreign Office communication to the Admiralty, Oct. 4, 1842 (P.R.O., F.O. 58/13) also notes that British trade in the Sandwich Islands had increased in the last three years from \$20,000 to \$150,000. The statistics given above for 1843 indicate that this increase was not maintained.

⁷ "Extracts from Dispatch of Sir George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson Bay Company—Honolulu, 1 March 1842" (P.R.O., F.O. 58/13).

⁸ The plantation was located at Koloa. An interesting account of it as it was in 1841 is given by a writer in the *Polynesian* (probably the editor, J. J. Jarves), June 19, July 17, 1841.

rights in the soil and the labor of the common people. They stubbornly resisted the idea of sales or grants of land in fee simple and jealously restricted even the leasing of lands to foreigners. The writer just cited gives a clear statement of the attitude of the rulers of the nation.

The jealousy of the government has heretofore operated unfavorably towards the success of [industry], originating in the deep-rooted prejudice they have acquired, that by alienating their lands, they lose their sovereignty over them—a prejudice which it would be as hopeless to undertake wholly to eradicate from the present generation, as to change the color of their skins. From this and the fact that they fear that by a too rapid increase of numbers and wealth among the foreigners, the government would eventually pass from their hands, have originated their exclusive policy, or their system of high rents for a limited period, with the improvements at the expiration of the lease to revert to the government; a system which certainly is admirably calculated to answer its purpose, by discouraging foreign enterprise and permanent investments of capital. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, numbers have embarked in these enterprises, and with a success which yearly is inducing others to follow their example.⁹

The agricultural operations of Ladd & Company had a tendency to break down these inherited prejudices and led the King to look with favor upon the project of systematic development of the resources of the country, provided these operations could be directed by men of high principles and friendly intentions toward the Hawaiian people. For this and other reasons King Kamehameha III, in November, 1841, entered into a contract by which he agreed to grant to Ladd & Company "the full right and privilege of occupying for the purpose of manufacturing agricultural productions, any now unoccupied and unimproved localities on the several islands of the Sandwich Islands, suitable for the manufacture of sugar, indigo, flour, raw silk, Kukui oil, or any other production of the country, by water power, steam power, or animal power, upon which they shall commence operations within five years [subsequently extended to ten years] from the date hereof, and that each such locality shall include a quantity of land not exceeding fifteen acres, and all the natural advantages of water, building materials, and all other conveniences thereunto natur-

⁹ *Polynesian*, July 17, 1841.

ally pertaining." Although the amount of unoccupied land of suitable character was limited in extent, it was supposed that Ladd & Company would receive under this grant one or two mill sites on each island of the group. The King further agreed to lease to them lands for cultivation in the convenient vicinity of each mill site, to the amount of two hundred acres adjoining each site. For the land and the mill sites the company was to pay a small annual rental. The King agreed to cause to be cultivated fifty acres of sugar cane in the vicinity of each sugar mill erected by the company. The company agreed "to stimulate and encourage in habits of industry, in all suitable ways, the native landholders dwelling in the districts in which their operations may be prosecuted, and to manufacture or purchase on fair and equitable terms the produce that may be developed by their industry, and to use their conscientious and steady endeavors to render the Sandwich Islanders an industrious, intelligent, civilized and independent nation." It was further agreed "that the capital to be employed in the operations contemplated in this agreement, shall be a joint stock capital, to which the [King] shall be permitted to subscribe to any amount which he shall state in writing within one year from the date hereof; and which shall also be open to subscription to American, English and French capitalists, and generally, without reference to national distinctions." The agreement was to run for one hundred years, and the mill sites were to be selected within one year, subsequently extended to four years, from its date. By a supplemental writing, of the same date, Ladd & Company agree "that said contract shall be null and void unless the Governments of Great Britain, France and the United States shall, either by conventional agreement, or by some formal act of each, acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands Government, and accord to it all the rights, powers and privileges and immunities of an independent state." Soon after the agreement was signed, P. A. Brinsmade, one of the members of the firm, departed from Honolulu for the United States (and Europe if necessary)

with the purpose of selling to some company already organized or to be organized all the properties of Ladd & Company in the islands, including the rights acquired under this agreement.¹⁰

It would be interesting to trace the history of this agreement of November 24, 1841, and to notice the complications and difficulties which it engendered. It is clear that the agreement placed in the hands of Ladd & Company a powerful instrument for still further broadening and strengthening American influence in Hawaii; it was not, however, used for that purpose and had no such effect. In this place it is mentioned only as one important American interest in the Hawaiian Islands and as an evidence of the strength of American influence there.

American interests in Hawaii were not solely of a material nature. For more than twenty years missionaries from the United States had been engaged in the task of christianizing and educating the native people of that country. The Sandwich Islands mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was an outgrowth of two forces: the great missionary movement of the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries; and the interest in Hawaii created by the opera-

¹⁰ The principal source of information for the affairs of Ladd & Company is the *Report of the Proceedings and Evidence in the Arbitration between the King and Government of the Hawaiian Islands and Messrs. Ladd & Co.* . . . (Honolulu, 1846), a volume of nearly 700 pages. This volume will be cited hereafter as *Ladd & Co. Arbitration*. The agreement of Nov. 24, 1841, is printed in the Appendix, pp. 30-32. In addition to their mercantile establishment at Honolulu and the sugar plantation at Koloa, Ladd & Co. had an interest in enterprises for the production of silk and kukui oil and castor oil. Lacking sufficient capital to develop all of these enterprises to the fullest extent, the company had formed the plan of selling all its properties and privileges to some person or company having the necessary resources. This being known, efforts were made to persuade the members of the company to alter their plans, and the agreement of Nov. 24, 1841, was an outcome of negotiations with that object in view. It was understood that by giving them (Ladd & Co.) still greater privileges, they would be induced to retain a directing interest in the business. Another reason for the agreement of Nov. 1841 was connected with the desire to insure the independence of the islands, as explained in a letter of Dr. G. P. Judd: "Serious dangers threaten[ed] the Islands from without. The independence of the Islands was likely to be lost in like manner with Tahiti and New Zealand, or if [not] seized upon by any foreign power, the tendency of things was towards a separate government for the whites. Let me explain further. Mr. Richards, then the only foreigner in the service of the Government, sought to defend the Islands from all foreign powers, by leasing to Ladd all the unoccupied lands on the Islands. It was supposed that under this lease pious Americans with their families would be induced to settle here, occupy the lands, plant coffee, sugar-cane, etc., and while opening the resources of the country, would, partly because of their American citizenship and partly on account of their having a right to the land, present a sufficient obstacle to the designs of French and English Agents upon the Islands." (G. P. Judd to Rev. R. Anderson, Honolulu, May 1, 1861, in *Letters of Dr. Gerrit P. Judd*, Fragments II, p. 209).

tions of New England traders in the north Pacific Ocean. The evangelical missionary movement created the impulse to "go into all the world and preach the gospel"; the activities of the traders pointed out a specific field to which the missionaries might go. This is not the place in which to review the work of the American missionaries in Hawaii, but it will be useful to assemble some data showing the physical aspects of the enterprise.

The first party of missionaries, arriving in 1820, was composed of two ministers, a physician, two teachers, a printer, and a farmer, and their wives. Subsequently, up to and including the year 1842, nine additional companies (113 persons) were sent out by the missionary board.¹¹ In the year 1842 the mission had 19 stations throughout the group of islands and a total of 79 missionaries (24 ordained ministers, one of whom was a physician; 3 physicians; 2 secular superintendents; 6 teachers; 2 printers; 1 book-binder; and 41 female assistant missionaries, including wives).¹² In addition to the adult members, the missionary "family" included 90 children.¹³ Besides the churches, the Mission had two printing establishments,¹⁴ one at Honolulu and one at Lahainaluna; a half dozen seminaries or boarding schools; and had just laid the foundation of the school at Punahou, which became, as it still is, one of the most important and useful educational institutions in the islands. Most of the common schools were still carried on under the direction of the missionaries, though nominally they had been taken over by the government.¹⁵ From the beginning the American Board had expended nearly a half million dollars in maintaining the Sandwich Islands Mission. For the year 1842, their expenditures were more than \$42,000.¹⁶

While it might seem that the great preponderance of

¹¹ List given in W. F. Blackman, *The Making of Hawaii*, 244-245

¹² *Missionary Herald*, XXXIX, 11-12 (Jan. 1843).

¹³ *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission* . . . 1842, p. 25.

¹⁴ These were the only printing establishments in operation in the islands in 1842, though for several years prior there had been one and for a short time two other establishments. From the beginning the mission presses had turned out more than 120,000,000 pages in the Hawaiian language.

¹⁵ *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting* . . . 1842, pp. 4-24.

¹⁶ *Friend*, May, 1844.

American commercial interests in Hawaii would be a sufficient explanation of a preponderating American political influence, the major credit for the latter phenomenon is almost universally given to the missionaries—and rightly so. Neither the missionaries nor the traders were primarily interested in politics, however much the success of both depended upon the maintenance of friendly relations with those in authority. The missionaries worked with and among the native people directly; the traders came into less intimate contact with them. The former therefore had more chance to gain that personal ascendancy over the native mind which was so important in critical moments. And consciously or unconsciously they would give to the Hawaiians a sort of American point of view, however dimly and imperfectly the native eye might see it. Still, there is reason to believe that the traders contributed more than is commonly supposed to the development of American influence in Hawaii between 1820 and 1842. It must be remembered that American trade in Hawaii experienced a great and permanent augmentation precisely at the time when the missionaries were beginning their work. The missionaries and the whalers came to Hawaii in the same year.¹⁷

Until the beginning of the reign of Kamehameha III (1825), Great Britain held the highest place in the thought of the Hawaiians about foreign countries; from the time of Vancouver's last visit (1794), they considered themselves under the protection of that country. The intercourse of Vancouver with the Hawaiian chiefs, and especially with Kamehameha, had a decisive influence upon the course of Hawaiian history. The attention which he paid to Kamehameha added to the prestige of that sagacious chief; the advice which he gave to him reinforced the natural good sense of the conqueror; the position of those staunch Britishers, John Young and Isaac Davis, as advisers of the King was strengthened by the generous endorsement of the

¹⁷ For a summary view of developments in Hawaii between 1820 and 1840, with attention to foreign influences at work (in particular the activities of missionaries and traders), see R. S. Kuykendall, *A History of Hawaii*, chapters 9, 10, 11, 12, 17.

British naval officer. Whatever may have been the technical import of the "cession" of the island of Hawaii to Great Britain through Vancouver, it is clear that Kamehameha and his people thenceforward looked upon themselves as in some sense men of Britain ("kanaka no Beritane"). This is explicitly indicated in a letter from Kamehameha to King George III, August 6, 1810, which contains this clause: "We as subject to his Most Sacred Majesty wish to have a seal and arms sent from Britain."¹⁸ Kamehameha II, in a letter to King George IV dated August 21, 1822, reiterated the fealty of this small kingdom to the British Crown: "The whole of these islands having been conquered by my father, I have succeeded to the government of them, and beg leave to place them all under the protection of your most excellent Majesty."¹⁹

The accession of Kamehameha II to the throne, the coming of the whalers, and the arrival of the American missionaries—three events heralding a new era in the history of Hawaii—all occurred within the space of twelve months, and they were soon followed by the appointment (September 19, 1820) of an "Agent of the United States for commerce and seamen" to reside at the Hawaiian Islands. The new King was young and inexperienced, without the commanding ability of his father, and his foreign born companions and advisers were English and French. It is small wonder that such an influx of Americans should cause him some uneasiness. The journal of the missionaries gives proof of this uneasiness. Writing under the date April 8, 1820, they say:

Our desire to settle at Woahoo [Oahu] was regarded with some suspicions that selfish motives, or political views drew us thither. The king [intimated] that he feared the Americans intended to get possession of the island. It is said, that some inconsiderate American seamen,—perhaps in the independent spirit of patriotism, which often breathes itself out in high sounding words, have told this too credulous people, that America would take these islands; and it is believed, that some English residents have insinuated and maintained the same thing.²⁰

¹⁸ *Report of Minister of Foreign Relations, 1855, Appendix, pp. 12-13.*

¹⁹ J. Montgomery (Comp.), *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq.* (London, 1831), I, 480.

²⁰ *Missionary Herald, XVII, 118 (Apr. 1821).*

The same suspicion of American intentions is shown in a conversation in the early part of 1821 between the King and a Hawaiian youth who had lately returned from the United States.²¹ A deputation of the London Missionary Society, visiting Hawaii in July, 1822, state that

A report has been in circulation, that the Americans residing here were conspiring to take this island [Oahu] from the king; but by what means they were supposed to intend to effect their object, we did not learn. The king has had a consultation with his chiefs upon the subject, which, however, he affects to regard as—what no doubt it is—an idle tale, originating from some imprudent boasting of certain natives of the United States, who employ their influence to obtain a national ascendancy in these islands, for the sake, we presume, of commercial advantages, since, in a political view, the absolute possession of them would be a burthen rather than a benefit. Rihoriho [Kamehameha II] is, however, manifestly uneasy on account of these rumours; and, while he professes openly to hold his dominions under the King of England, would fain have the substantial protection of British sailors and soldiers to secure his fief against the encroachments of any other Christian power.²²

In the following year (1823), Kamehameha II embarked on his well known trip to England. One of his objects was to see the king of Great Britain, to confirm the earlier words of himself and his father, and to obtain from the British king a promise of protection. Kamehameha died without accomplishing that object personally, but the members of his suite had an interview with King George, explained to him the object of their visit, and, according to their testimony received from him a promise that while England would not take possession of the islands, she would afford them protection from the aggression of any other power.²³ After the death of Kamehameha II and his wife, the British government detailed the frigate *Blonde*, under

²¹ *Missionary Herald*, XVIII, 206 (July 1822).

²² J. Montgomery (Comp.), *op. cit.*, I, 471-472.

²³ See the testimony of Kekuanāoa and James Young in the *Polynesian*, Oct. 11, 18, 1851. Kekuanāoa's testimony was written down at least as early as 1840. See also Byron to Croker, May 30, 1825 (P.R.O., F. O. 58/4): "Karimoku told me he considered the islands as belonging to Great Britain, and hoped I had brought out laws and regulations for them. I told him . . . I would advise him, but they must give their own laws, as they best knew how to govern their own people; but as far as protecting them from foreign interference, I thought they might rely on the friendship of Great Britain." Byron was commander of the British frigate *Blonde*; Karimoku (Kalanimoku) was the principal minister of state in Hawaii. Byng to Planta, March 4, 1826 (P.R.O., F. O. 58/4), recounting information received from the Sandwich Islands, says the assurances given by King George to the Hawaiian chiefs previous to their departure from England "have given the greatest gratification and have removed all their fear of America and Russia." In an unfinished, unsigned, and undated letter or memorandum, written apparently by some official in the British Foreign Office (P.R.O., F. O. 58/6), appears this statement: "George the 4 did promise (in my presence) the Islanders his protection."

command of Captain the Right Honorable Lord Byron, to carry back to the islands the bodies of the king and queen and the surviving members of their party. The frigate likewise carried out an English agriculturist named Wilkinson who proposed to establish a plantation on the islands, for which project he had the permission and patronage of the Chief Boki, Governor of the island of Oahu. At that time the British government believed that it had a right to claim the sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands,²⁴ but the claim was not openly asserted, and its validity is somewhat shaken by the fact that almost at the same moment a British Consul was being appointed for the Sandwich and some other islands in the Pacific Ocean.²⁵

It might have been expected that the king's visit to England, Lord Byron's visit to Hawaii, the appointment of a British consul, and the establishment of Wilkinson's plantation would consolidate and perpetuate British influence in the islands. This did not, however, prove to be the case; on the contrary, British influence began to decline, and the year 1825 may conveniently be taken as the turning point. The first and most obvious reason for this decline was the death of the king and the consequent loss of his personal influence in favor of England. While Kamehameha II and his party were away from the country, the persons who were destined to be the rulers after him (the Queen Regent Kaahumanu and the chief minister Kalanimoku in particular) were being brought under the influence of the American missionaries. The new king (Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III) was a mere boy and his education was at the hands of the missionaries. While Lord Byron's conduct during his stay at the islands was well calculated to win the affectionate regard of the native people and to confirm the friendship between England and Hawaii, he did not assert any special rights of England or put forward any claims for special privileges to the English people, and he

²⁴ Secret instructions to Lord Byron, Sept. 14, 1824 (P.R.O., Adm. 2/1693, pp. 241-245), printed in *Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii* . . . December 31, 1926, pp. 19-20.

²⁵ Richard Charlton's appointment as consul was dated Sept. 23, 1824.

declined to advise the chiefs as to specific laws. The attempt to develop agriculture under English leadership failed as a result of the death of Wilkinson in 1827. The consul appointed to represent Great Britain in the islands was (to speak charitably) an untactful person, whose conduct alienated him from the ruling chiefs. Most important of all was the steady development of the American interests already described, which rapidly eclipsed those of England. It must not be understood, however, that the Hawaiians turned away from or against Great Britain. They still looked on England as their friend, even after, and in spite of the actions of Lord George Paulet in 1843. But they gradually ceased to expect any special protection from England, and embraced the idea of Hawaii as a completely independent country.

After 1825 appear evidences of closer ties between the United States and Hawaii. Two American warships visited the islands in 1826.²⁶ In May of that year William Sturgis of Boston was appointed Commerical Agent for the government of the Hawaiian Islands in the United States.²⁷ On December 23, 1826, some "articles of arrangement," commonly referred to as a treaty, were "made and concluded at Oahu, between Thomas ap Catesby Jones [Commander of the U.S.S. *Peacock*], appointed by the United States, of the one part, and Kauikeaouli, King of the Sandwich Islands and his Guardians, on the other part." The treaty "provided for a perpetual peace and friendship between America and Hawaii, and for the freedom and protection of American trade. It contained a shipwreck convention and a most favored-nation clause (respecting tonnage dues and imports). Hawaii agreed to discountenance the desertion of seamen, and a scale of rewards for the delivery of deserters was established. Permission was given to citizens of the

²⁶ A good though brief account in C. O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers*, 337-341. The two vessels were the *Dolphin* (Lieut. John Percival) and the *Peacock* (Master-commandant T. ap C. Jones).

²⁷ Testimony of Wm. Sturgis in "Proceedings of the Court of Enquiry in the Case of Lieut. John Percival" (U. S. Navy Dept., Court Martial Records, Vol. 23, No. 531, pp. 328-329; three documents evidencing the appointment are in the Appendix, Nos. 39, 40, 41). Sturgis declined the appointment and no other was made until many years later.

United States to sue for claims."²⁸ The treaty was never ratified by the government of the United States, but the Hawaiian government observed its stipulations without raising any question as to its binding force,²⁹ at least until after the formal recognition of the independence of Hawaii. The visits of Captain Jones in the U.S.S. *Peacock* (1826) and, even more, that of Captain Finch in the U.S.S. *Vincennes* (1829)³⁰ were of great importance because they occurred at times when the relations between the traders and the missionaries were much strained and those commanders upheld the missionaries and in general supported the local authorities in their efforts to keep the foreign traders and residents in proper subjection to the laws. The result was a strengthening of the influence of the missionaries and an increase of the friendly feeling of the Hawaiian government towards that of the United States.

It was not long before the British consul, Richard Charlton, began to complain to his government about the mischievous ascendancy of the American missionaries. His dispatches and the reports of British naval officers and traders who visited the islands from time to time laid the foundation for a belief in the minds of British officials at home that the Hawaiian Islands were practically governed

²⁸ The treaty is printed in various places, including *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 77*, 52 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 31-32, and *Report of Minister of Foreign Relations*, 1855, Appendix, pp. 1-3. The summary above is quoted from Paullin, *op. cit.*, 340.

²⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 77*, 52 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 4 (A. H. Allen's "Report upon the Official Relations of the United States with the Hawaiian Islands . . ."); Haalillo and Richards to Webster, Dec. 14, 1842, (*Ibid.*, 37-38). In 1831 J. A. Kuakini, Governor of the island of Maui, had the treaty printed in broadside with the English and Hawaiian versions in parallel columns. One of these broadsides is in the Library of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society in Honolulu. The treaty is several times referred to as if it were of binding effect, e. g. in E. P. Kennedy (Com'dg U. S. East India Squadron) to Kaukeauli (*sic*), Oct. 7, 1836 (Archives of Hawaii, F. O. and Ex.; also in W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Voyage Round the World* [Philadelphia, 1838], 498-500); J. C. Jones (U. S. Com'l Ag't) to the King, May 23, 1837 (Archives of Hawaii, F. O. & Ex.); by Capt. Bruce (of H.B.M.S. *Imogene*), as reported by Lorrin Andrews in his "Journal &c" of conferences, Oct. 4-13, 1837 (*Ibid.*); J. J. Jarves, in an editorial in the *Polynesian*, Sept. 26, 1840, speaks of "those groups where regular and recognized governments prevail, with whom treaties have been formed, as at this place"; G. P. Judd, in a letter to Com. T. ap C. Jones, Dec. 7, 1842, speaks of the latter's "agency in effecting the present treaty" (*House Report No. 92*, 28 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 4). In *Missionary Letters*, V. 1372 ff., is a letter of Rev. H. Bingham, Dec. 13, 1831, giving an account of several discussions, with traders, the U. S. deputy commercial agent, and some English travelers, as to the construction of certain articles of the treaty, in the course of which General Wm. Miller, one of the English travelers, "said he did not know whether that treaty had been ratified by the government of the United States, and if not it was not binding though it might be well enough to hold it up to the people" (p. 1377).

³⁰ On the visit of the *Vincennes*, see Paullin, *op. cit.*, 341-343; C. S. Stewart, *Visit to the South Seas . . . during the year 1829 and 1830* (New York, 1831), II, 61-280. Stewart was chaplain of the vessel and had previously been a missionary in Hawaii.

by the United States through the missionaries, to the prejudice of British subjects. A few quotations from those dispatches and reports will show how the belief was propagated.

In corresponding with the Chiefs at the head of this Government it is impossible to get at their real Sentiments as all letters sent to them whether written in their own or in a foreign language are immediately put into the hands of the principal American Missionary who answers it without any reference to the person to whom the letter or letters are address'd and these people do not hesitate to sign any thing he requires.³¹

Kauikeaouli (or Tamehameha) is now about twenty-three years of age and is possessed of more talent than almost any other Native, but being of very indolent habits and excessively fond of pleasures he does not attend to the affairs of Government, but trusts Kinau his half sister with the reigns, she is entirely governed by the American Missionaries who through her govern the Islands with unlimited sway.³²

Captain Lord Edward Russell, who visited Hawaii in H.B.M.S. *Acteon* in October and November, 1836, reported that while the King was nominally at the head of the government, he was "really entirely under the control of American missionaries who interfere with everything concerning the commerce as well as the internal government of the islands."³³ Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America, while on his way around the world, visited the Hawaiian Islands in February and March, 1842, and during his stay there wrote a long letter to the Governor and committee in London. This and other letters of Simpson were sent to the British Foreign Office by Governor Pelly of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the course of comments on the king and chiefs, Sir George makes this statement:

They are evidently most anxious to do what is right in their commercial and other relations with foreign countries, but are too much under the influence of the Calvinist Missionary Society in the United States, who have a number of their teachers and Missionaries stationed throughout the different Islands, and they have had sufficient influence to get one of their own number a narrow minded illiterate American, named Richards installed as prime Minister or principal Councillor of the King. This Man never absents himself from him, and being the tool of the Missionary Society, which may be considered

³¹ Charlton to Earl of Aberdeen (Separate), Dec. 20, 1831 (P.R.O., F.O. 58/6). The "principal American Missionary" was undoubtedly Rev. Hiram Bingham.

³² Charlton to Lord Palmerston (No. 15), Nov. 23, 1836 (P.R.O., F.O. 58/8). Kinau was the *Kuhina Nui* or Premier of the kingdom.

³³ P.R.O., F.O. 58/9 (in note from Admiralty to Foreign Office, July 18, 1837).

in a certain degree a political engine in the hands of the Government of the United States, the Sandwich Islands may be said to be greatly under the influence of that Government. To do the Missionaries justice however, it appears to me they exercise their best judgment for the welfare and prosperity of the Country, but in their over zeal they counselled the enactment of some very strange and unusual laws, which foreigners found irksome and vexatious, and as might be expected they not unfrequently divert the stream of justice from the proper course, in order to favour their own friends and Countrymen.³⁴

The effect which these and similar statements produced on the minds of government officials in England can be seen in the files of the British Foreign Office and in the archives of the Hawaiian government. In the Public Record Office in London are two memoranda on the Sandwich Islands prepared in the Foreign Office in the summer of 1843, from which the following excerpts are taken.

Moreover the whole Govt. is acknowledged to be directed by an American named Judd, who in his own person fills the principal Offices in the State, and arranges everything. Previously to him Mr. Richards held this Post, of whom even Mr. George Simpson . . . wrote on the 1st of March 1842 to the Hudsons Bay Company in the words quoted in the Margin.³⁵ . . . In fact the Grievances throughout are represented to be, that Americans, if they have claims Agt. Brit. Subjects, whether the claims be just or not, succeed in obtaining them or in putting Brit. Subjects in prison, and confining them in irons: the Brit. Subjects can get no redress from Americans: That Brit. Subjects are tried for offences by Parties who are as well Judges as Accusers and, Witnesses—and are put, before trial, into prisons with irons on hands and legs:—while Americans are not treated in this way.³⁶

The general tone however of the Letters recd. at various times at the F. O. from the Sandwich Islands may be said to shew that the English do not conceive that the *Natives* are prejudiced agt. them; but that certain Americans who have the entire control of the Auths. and of the Govt. and who (in common with Americans generally) are inimical to, that is jealous of, British interests, influence proceedings to the Prejudice of Brit. Subjects. . . . It will be seen further on that there may be grounds for adopting this view of the matter.³⁷

When commissioners accredited by the king of the Ha-

³⁴ "Extracts from Dispatch of Sir George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson Bay Company—Honolulu, 1 March 1842" (P.R.O., F.O. 58/13). Extracts from the same letter, not quite identical with the ones here cited, and from other letters of Simpson are printed by Joseph Schafer in *American Historical Review*, XIV, 70-94 (Oct. 1908). In the latter place the letter quoted is dated March 10, 1842. The letter was written before Sir George had met the king, premier, and Mr. Richards. In justice to Richards, it should be stated that the description of him in this letter is grossly inaccurate. In his book published some years later Simpson says that he found Richards "as shrewd and intelligent as he was pious and humble" (Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World*, II, 162).

³⁵ The "words quoted in the Margin" are the first two sentences of the extract quoted above from the letter of Sir George Simpson.

³⁶ Memorandum—Sandwich Islands. F.O. July 1843 (P.R.O., F.O. 58/19).

³⁷ Memo. F.O. Sept. 1843 (P.R.O., F.O. 58/18).

waiian Islands visited London in the spring of 1843 with the object of obtaining from the British government a formal recognition of the independence of Hawaii and of negotiating a treaty between the two countries, their first interview with the Earl of Aberdeen, secretary of state for foreign affairs, showed that his idea of the condition of affairs in Hawaii was substantially the same as that expressed in the quotations given above. Aberdeen said "it cannot be supposed that the King governs himself, he is influenced by others"—that is to say, by the American missionaries.³⁸

It is not to be denied that the American missionaries did exert a powerful influence upon the Hawaiian government; but it is not necessary to admit that their influence improperly weighted the scales of justice in favor of Americans and against other foreigners. This is proven by the decision of the British government itself on the various complaints and grievances alleged by British subjects against the Hawaiian government.³⁹ It is charged that the missionaries interfered in the making of the laws. No one who studies the history of the Sandwich Islands Mission would deny that the impress of the teaching of the missionaries is to be seen in the legislation of the Hawaiian government between 1820 and 1842 and in the constitutional development during that period. It would seem that on the whole this ought to be set down to the credit of the missionaries rather than as a ground of criticism against them. But in truth the missionaries were not exclusively responsible for these developments. That other great civilizing agent, commerce, which as we have seen was carried on in this part of the world mainly by Americans, had some share in bringing them about. The complex of civilizing forces had by 1842 induced the king and chiefs to promulgate a Declaration of Rights (1839) and to grant a constitution (1840) as a foundation for the government. These

³⁸ George Simpson and Wm. Richards to Kamehameha III, London, April 1, 1843, in *History of the Hawaiian Foreign Embassy, during the years 1842, 1843, and 1844* . . . (MS. in Archives of Hawaii). See also the editorial (written by P. A. Brinsmade) in the *Sandwich Island News*, March 24, 1847, which however contains some serious mis-statements on other points.

³⁹ For this decision see Aberdeen to Haalilio and Richards, Sept. 12, 1843 (Archives of Hawaii, F. O. & Ex.).

documents show unmistakably that they were drawn up under missionary and American influence. And no one can deny that they mark a long step forward in the direction of justice and opportunity for the common man.

The other principal charge is that individual missionaries practically usurped the functions of government. The root of the matter is that the missionaries, being the only persons in Hawaii who thoroughly understood both the English and Hawaiian languages, served the chiefs as interpreters and translators in their dealings with foreigners. The missionaries brought to the Hawaiians the higher elements of the foreign civilization and their activities convinced the Hawaiians of the disinterestedness of their motives. In times of stress the chiefs would naturally turn to them for advice and there is little doubt that they received all the advice the missionaries felt they could give without violating the letter of their instructions from the missionary board. But it certainly is not true that the missionaries usurped the functions of government. The Hawaiian chiefs were neither feeble-minded nor weak-willed, but they were ignorant of the forms and processes of government to which the foreigners were accustomed. As the number of foreigners increased, the chiefs began to feel the need of assimilating their own system to that of the great foreign countries. In 1836 they addressed a letter to their American patrons requesting additional teachers to aid in promoting the order and prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands; among others they wanted a "teacher of the chiefs in what pertains to the land according to the practice of enlightened countries" (i.e. a teacher of the science of government).⁴⁰ No one being sent from America to fill this need, the chiefs in 1838 persuaded one of the missionaries, Rev. William Richards, to become their interpreter, translator, and teacher. Richards resigned from the Mission before taking up his new duties. In 1842 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the United States and Europe and another missionary, Dr. G. P. Judd, took his place in the government, having first, like

⁴⁰ The letter is printed in R. Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors* (Boston, 1864), 76-77.

Richards, resigned from the Mission. These men were Americans, strongly imbued with the political ideas embedded in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Mention has been made of the beginning of official relations between the United States and Hawaii (the appointment of a commercial agent, the visits of American war-ships, the Jones treaty, etc.). The only serious flaw in those relations down to 1842 was the character and disposition of the American commercial agent, John C. Jones, who made himself obnoxious to the native authorities not only by his persistent opposition to them on various matters, notably in the affair of the Catholic missionaries, but even more by his personal morals, which are described as being most reprehensible. In the latter part of 1837 the king and principal chiefs wrote a letter to the President of the United States requesting the removal of Jones and suggesting the appointment of P. A. Brinsmade to succeed him. At about the same time a number of masters of American whaling ships wrote to the President a letter containing the same request and suggestion, and the missionaries added the weight of their influence to the movement.⁴¹ Jones was removed and Brinsmade was appointed American agent for commerce and seamen at the Sandwich Islands.⁴² As previously indicated the new agent was a member of the firm of Ladd & Company. When Brinsmade sailed from Honolulu in December, 1841, on his voyage to the United States, he appointed William Hooper, one of his partners in the firm, to serve as deputy commercial agent in his absence.

Having in the course of this article given numerous extracts from British sources on the subject of American in-

⁴¹ Kamehameha III (and seven of the chiefs) to the President, Nov. 21, 1837 (State Dept., Consular Correspondence, Honolulu); T. D. Pease et als. to President Van Buren, Oahu, Nov. 1837 (*Ibid.*); Rev. Wm. Richards to Rev. R. Anderson, New Haven, July 3, 1837 (*Missionary Letters*, VI, 1669). Richards was appointed agent to represent the A. B. C. F. M. at Washington on this matter. Before the result of these efforts was known in Hawaii, the Hawaiian government wrote to Pres. Van Buren a second complaint against Jones (Kaahumanu II to Pres. Van Buren, Jan. 12, 1839, in Archives of Hawaii, F.O. & Ex.). A principal charge against Jones was that he was guilty of bigamy, having deserted his Hawaiian wife to marry a Spanish lady in California.

⁴² Brinsmade to Sec. of State Forsyth, Hallowell, Maine, May 12, 1838 (State Dept., Cons. Corr., Honolulu). Brinsmade took charge of the office Apr. 9, 1839 (Brinsmade to Forsyth, Apr. 10, 1839, in *ibid.*).

terests and influence in Hawaii, it may be proper in conclusion and by way of summary to make some quotations from American sources. A few months after taking over his duties as commercial agent, Brinsmade had occasion to report to the Secretary of State about the proceedings of the French naval officer Laplace (of the frigate *L'Artemise*) at Honolulu in July, 1839, and closed his dispatch with these remarks:

There exist strong jealousies on the part of Great Britain and France, towards Americans established here, on account of the vast preponderance they have attained over all other nations, both in numbers, value of interests and influence; and it is so perfectly obvious that the course of kind and honorable conduct generally pursued by American Citizens, and the policy of our Government to preserve friendly relations, by the mild and conciliatory demeanour of those who visit here in War Ships or under other official relations, have secured the partialities of the King and his Chiefs towards Americans, that it may be reasonably apprehended that any alledged offense with which this Government may be charged, will be invidiously attributed to an American origin, and that in case of resort on the part of either of the European powers mentioned, to severe measures for the redress of alledged grievances, our Citizens may be signally exposed. It is to be hoped that they will not be left without protection.⁴³

The following is from an editorial in the Honolulu *Poly-nesian* on the importance of having a United States naval station at the Hawaiian Islands. The writer was James J. Jarves, an American citizen.

At this group there are already sixty families from the United States, including the missionaries of the American Board, and perhaps as many more formed by intermarriage with the natives. The whole number of Americans here cannot be much short of six hundred, or at least several hundred more than those of all other foreigners of whatever nation. It is principally to their enterprise and philanthropic exertions that the present civilization and christianity of these islands are to be attributed. The missionaries alone have been supported here since the year 1820, at an expense of about \$500,000, a good portion of which has been expended in permanent and valuable improvements, or in work for the special advantage of the natives.

The amount of property held by their countrymen, which may be termed their floating capital, consisting of goods for trade, furniture, and whatever else can be included under personal estate, cannot be reckoned at less than a million of dollars. In this and the following statistics, it is impossible to get the precise amounts, but it is believed that they approximate near to the truth. \$100,000 invested in agricultural pursuits, including sugar, silk, coffee and other plantations, stock, etc. A moiety of this capital is fixed on the island of

⁴³ Brinsmade to Forsyth, July 17, 1839 (State Dept., Cons. Corr., Honolulu).

Kauai. In shipping, owned at Honolulu, \$43,000. Of real estate, houses, etc. \$300,000 may be considered a fair valuation. For the last five and a half years, the imports from the United States have amounted to \$1,000,000, a sum exceeding that from all other sources within the same period.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ *Polynesian*, May 22, 1841.

ORIGIN OF THE CONDEMNATION OF CAPTAIN COOK IN HAWAII

A STUDY IN CAUSE AND EFFECT

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To those historically inclined, I offer the analysis of an interested case of falsehood becoming accepted, through much repetition, as historical fact. I also point out that through accepting such falsehoods, public opinion may become so affected that a thoroughly good man may appear as only evil.

The "case" is that of Captain Cook in Hawaii—discussed and rediscussed ad nauseam. Inconclusive and irritating, it has been, because the evidence of alleged and opposing facts was irreconcilable. I would not myself obtrude it, except that over a year ago I happened upon a lead which, when followed, supplied a missing link—the origin of our condemnation of Cook. And when this is understood, the local controversy concerning Cook may cease.

In this controversy, there seem to have been three groups of thought. In the first and largest were people who had been educated in the denunciation of Cook. It consisted of native Hawaiians and most of the locally born white people who had learned nothing to the contrary.

The second group, and probably the next in size, was composed of people born elsewhere, and who had heard Cook generally eulogized for his probity, humanity and self-sacrifice. However, influenced by the repeated state-

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ments (without denials) of all the local historians of the nineteenth century the conclusion could only be reached that Cook's habits had changed in Hawaii.

The third and smallest group is comparatively recent. Its members have had access to copies and photostats of the journals of Cook's officers and men. They either ignored the local charges, or, like Sir Joseph Carruthers, adduced facts to controvert them and placed a finger on the cause. They could not however explain away the supposed Hawaiian evidence.

The evidence accepted as Hawaiian was gathered orally 58 to 60 years after Cook's arrival. The journals of the voyagers were daily entries of current events by men who were at times critical of Cook. A correlation of information from the two sources, shows the impossibility of the alleged Hawaiian statements.

Examining further, the Hawaiian data will be found not Hawaiian, but a compilation in Hawaiian written by Rev. Sheldon Dibble. In this compilation was presented for the first time the main point of denunciation of Cook in an incident which occurred, if at all, after Cook's death!

Opinions of Cook in 1900

About thirty years ago, a question put to the old residents, Hawaiian or white, concerning the discoverer Cook, was either ignored, or a reply returned something like the following:

He was an arch-fiend, a blasphemer, a libertine, a conscienceless adventurer and the murderer of the Hawaiian race through the introduction and communication of venereal disease, who came to a violent end by means of the avenging agency of the Almighty--and he did not discover the Hawaiian Islands, anyway!

Such opinions were not merely those of the man in the street. They could be followed back, in Hawaiian histories by recognized authorities, for many years. Not merely have these been the views of historians of the nineteenth century, but the opinion has been carried into the twentieth century.

Twentieth Century Views

In 1927, Rev. Father Reginald Yzendoorn published in his *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands* a statement (37, p. 17) which epitomizes all the bitterness of the nineteenth century writers. In reviewing the early history of the islands, he devotes one brief and uncomplimentary paragraph to Cook's memory, and closes with the remark that Cook's violent death was received as "the well deserved reward for his impiety, meanness, injustice and cruelty."

Yzendoorn here proves himself a cleric, rather than an impartial historian. Illustrative of this is the contrast to be observed between the denunciation of Cook, so brief and scathing, and so unspecific in its allegations, and the chapter of twenty-five pages devoted to Father Damien. There, besides many eulogies on the noble work done by this great humanitarian among the unfortunate lepers, we find much space is given to the thoughtful and analytic refutation of the Damien charges. In this chapter Yzendoorn shows his ability both to investigate and defend when his feelings and interest are sufficiently aroused.

Yet the one fault Yzendoorn is prepared to admit of Father Damien, namely a hasty and violent temper, is the only indictment of Cook and Damien so far upheld.

There are many interesting similarities between Captain Cook and Father Damien although they belonged to cultural periods a century apart. The following readily come to mind: Born of farming people; more or less self-educated; self-sacrificing in cause of humanity; placed by opportunity in position of prominence; with courage of convictions and resolute to point of obstinacy if cause seemed right; coming to death in cause of humanity; and with post-mortem accusations based upon traffic with women.

Yet Yzendoorn's sincerity in condemning the one and upholding the other is evident, because he opens his book (p. V) with the Ciceronian admonition handed on by His Holiness Leo XIII:

This, above all, writers should keep in mind: that the first law of history is that no one shall dare say anything false, and next, that no

one shall be afraid to say anything which is true; lest there be a suspicion that the writer seeks to curry favor or is actuated by malice.

The conclusion to be reached is that Yzendoorn relied upon historical statements which were untrustworthy, and did not have the references for comparison which have lately come to Honolulu. This is quite probable because, while the book was published in 1927, the preface states that the main portion was written between 1908 and 1913. Other books published in the last decade, in particular those written by the late A. P. Taylor, and by Bishop Restarick, R. S. Kuykendall, and Sir Joseph Carruthers, are very different in their views.

Nineteenth Century Writers

By running backward, in reverse chronological order of publication, through the histories of the nineteenth century, we may obtain a clear understanding of the way the opinions of the first group were formed, and those of the second group influenced.

As the accounts are traced back, it may be observed that they are mostly repetitions of previous publications. The search stops at the Ka Mooololo Hawaii (Hawaiian History), published in Hawaiian at Lahainaluna School in 1838, and said to have been written by its native scholars. It was given credence because the alleged facts were supposed to have been gathered from the oldest natives then living, some of whom Fornander believed to have been eye-witnesses of Cook's affairs.

It may also be noticed that the local condemnation of Cook has been induced more through emotion than the presentation of facts, absolute or alleged, in a calm fashion. Attention to the manner of presentation will explain much of the community's attitude.

With the matter of emotion in mind, we may follow the two main charges against Cook:

(1) The introduction of venereal disease, combined with his personal traffic with native women.

(2) Self-deification.

The important part affecting Cook in his alleged per-

sonal conduct with women, and it is probably the foundation upon which is built all the denunciation by laymen.

Were the charge believed, who could credit Cook's statement that he had forbidden any intercourse between his sailors and the women, in order to protect the Hawaiian people from venereal disease? The emotional effect of such inconsistency would blind most men to facts. However, the fact that Cook had no traffic with women on this voyage (authority for which will be quoted later) need not prevent our observing the effect accomplished by belief in the charge.

W. D. Alexander in 1891

Alexander (1, p. 104) wrote a fairer account than any other nineteenth century writer. He combined the authorized and Ledyard's accounts of Cook's voyage with the writings of Dibble, Jarves, Ellis and that of Mooololo Hawaii of 1838.

He is in general unemotional, and is mildly condemnatory. He is not quite fair in neglecting to state all the facts. For instance, he mentions that there were "left behind diseases, unknown before, which spread through the group, causing misery and death to the people," but he makes no mention of Cook's persistent attempts to prevent its communication. Also, while describing in detail the Hawaiian deification of Cook, Alexander does not state what Cook had thought of the procedure. It is natural enough that Alexander should have been influenced by the local authorities he followed.

A. Fornander in 1880

In 1880, to continue the reverse chronological order, Fornander's Hawaiian history appeared (*The Polynesian Race*, Vol. II). We have been prone to regard Fornander as the writer best qualified to understand and expound the native Hawaiian viewpoint. Married to a Hawaiian, and having received a classical education at the famous University of Upsala, where he attended the classes of the historian Geijer, having a wide linguistic equipment, being well read in Pacific voyages, and being also a Swede, For-

nander would seem to have been an ideal arbiter in local historical controversy.

Fornander variously agrees and disagrees with his predecessors. He defends (14, p. 180) Cook on the charge of self-deification, but accepts the supposed native accusation that Cook was loose in his relations with Hawaiian women (14, pp. 162-163):

Giving Cook all credit for his good intentions, it is lamentable to reflect that his orders were so little heeded and so badly executed. The native accounts are positive and unanimous that the intercourse between the seamen of the ships and the native women, both ashore and on board, was notorious and unchecked . . . and during the last generation of Hawaiians it was openly said, and never contradicted, that that night Lelemahoalani slept with Lono (Cook).

Native historians are particularly bitter against the memory of Captain Cook on account of the introduction of the venereal disease in the group by the seamen of the ships under his command; and they argue, that had Cook himself shown greater continence, his orders referred to above would have been better obeyed. The resentment is natural, the argument cogent. . . .

The result, however, was death and indescribable misery to the poor Hawaiians, and no wonder that the memory of Captain Cook is not cherished among them.

When Cook says that he gave orders to "exclude the women from on board the ships," and the native testimony asserts that numerous women, and the queen's own daughter among them, passed one or more nights on board, there is but one way to escape from the dilemma, and that is to assume what was probably the fact, though Cook does nowhere acknowledge it—namely, that his orders were not properly carried into effect.

If we follow Fornander to pp. 186-7 of his work, he will be found to be quite emotional in his condemnation of Cook and misinterpretation of Cook's actions. The passages quoted will serve in part as an illustration of the effect of the supposed native assertions upon an otherwise well balanced man like Fornander. Fortunately he quotes (14, p. 162) his native historians as D. Malo and S. M. Kamakau. The D. Malo of Fornander is found (14, p. 167) to be Mooolo Hawaii of 1838, which was written by another person, not a Hawaiian. Kamakau's statement is another version of the same account.

S. M. Kamakau in 1867

Kamakau wrote in Hawaiian in the native newspapers (19), a history of Hawaii, which had wide acceptance. As he was at Lahainaluna school when Mooolo Hawaii of 1838

was compiled, he possibly took part in gathering the information. He follows the compiled account, with some variation, and then becomes most bitter in his denunciation of Cook. One of the variations in Kamakau's account is that Cook came ashore to the women, while Fornander and Jarves state that the women were sent on board. Translating literally from Kamakau:

One day Kapena Kuke [Captain Cook] went ashore with his officers and soldiers with their guns on display and waited on the king [Kaeo] and Kamakahelei the queen and the chiefs. [Presents enumerated were exchanged.] Kaeo also gave his daughter . . . Lelemahoalani . . . as wife to Captain Cook. Captain Cook also gave gifts to Kaeo for Lelemahoalani. And when the native women saw that the princess slept with the foreigner, they also slept with the foreigners for clothing, iron and mirrors.

Kamakau had something to say on the subject of the deification of Captain Cook by the Hawaiians. Cook, he states, may or may not have consented to the worship, "it is not certain. But, he was wrong in agreeing to enter the shrines of the idol worshippers, because he was a man from the Christian land . . . therefore God punished him."

Cook is blamed by Kamakau for the introduction of most of the major ills suffered by Hawaiians, of which a long list is presented. It need not be repeated for evaluation, since it includes prostitution and mosquitoes. Prostitution, Malo (25, p. 103) states, was ancient in Hawaii and was not considered wrong. Alexander (1, p. 195) notes that in 1826 (namely 47 years after Cook's death) "mosquitoes, hitherto unknown in the islands, were introduced at Lahaina by the ship 'Wellington,' from San Blas, Mexico." It has always been conceded that there were no mosquitoes in 1820, when the first missionaries arrived.

The other statements by Kamakau will be evaluated below.

Pogue in 1858

Rev. J. F. Pogue (28) published in Hawaiian in 1858 a reprint of *Mooolelo Hawaii* of 1838, combined with many notes on antiquities and history from the unpublished work of David Malo. Undoubtedly this combination tended to confuse Fornander in attributing to Malo the writing of the

1838 edition. Except for the interpolation of some sentences condemnatory of Cook, the 1858 edition does not differ from the earlier one, and comment may be postponed.

Bingham in 1847

Rev. Hiram Bingham published in 1847, a history of Hawaii which ran into more than one edition (3). To attempt to give Bingham's views in any words but his own, would not merely be presumption, but would be unjust. I shall quote him as fully as possible. In regard to Cook's visit to Kauai, Bingham says (3, p. 31):

The chiefs Kaneoneo and Keawe being then in authority there, sent men, by canoes, to reconnoitre and report. . . .

One of the attendants on the chiefs, hearing of the abundance of iron, and desiring it, said, "I will go and seize it, for that is my inheritance or livelihood to seize property." The chiefs said, "Go," and he soon commenced his work, and was shot down by the shipmen. Some of the natives proposed to fight the strangers. But Kamakahalei, a woman of high rank, proposed, like one of the enemies of Israel, a measure as fatal. She said, "Let us not fight Lono, our god, but conciliate him that he may be friendly to us." So she gave her own daughter, Lelemahoalani, to the commander of the expedition. Others of the company took other women, and paid in iron. That was the dearest bought iron, doubtless, ever bartered for guilty indulgences; and thousands have been the victims of suffering and death, throughout the whole group, as the lamentable consequence of evils thus introduced, and not yet wholly eradicated.

The preceding is practically a repetition from Dibble and Mooolelo Hawaii which Bingham passed along, with no reference whatever to Cook's determined efforts to protect the Hawaiians. Bingham may or may not have read Cook's voyages, but he seemed to nurse a bias against Cook. To continue (3, p. 33):

Priding himself on the honors shown him, and the influence he had acquired over the ignorant barbarians, and trusting to his naval and military skill and power, to resist and punish any aggression from the people, he ventured to assert rights which could not belong to him as a fellow man. He not only received the religious homage which they ascribed to Lono, but according to Ledyard, who was with him, invaded the rights, both civil and religious, and took away the sacred enclosure. . . .

But we can hardly avoid the conclusion, that for the direct encouragement of idolatry, and especially for his audacity in allowing himself like the proud and magisterial Herod to be idolized, he was left to infatuation and died by the visitation of God.

How vain, rebellious, and at the same time contemptible, for a worm to presume to receive religious homage and sacrifices from the stupid and polluted worshippers of demons and of the vilest visible

objects of creation, and to teach them by precept and example to violate the plainest commands or rules of duty from Heaven—to encourage self-indulgence, revenge, injustice, and disgusting lewdness as the business of the highest order of beings known to them, without one note of remonstrance on account of the dishonor cast on the Almighty Creator.

It is impossible to reconcile Bingham's views on Cook with those of his missionary colleagues Thurston, Bishop and Goodrich in 1823. Then, as will be noted below, the views of those three were kindly toward Cook. Something may have come up between 1823 and 1847 to affect Bingham, or perhaps he wrote in his normal vein.

In 1843, two histories of Hawaii were written, one by Jarves, the nephew of a missionary in Hawaii, and the other by Rev. Sheldon Dibble.

Jarves in 1843.

Jarves (17, p. ix) depends for his native information concerning Cook on Mooololo Hawaii of 1838, from which he quotes and which apparently he accepts without reserve. He also had "all the works of authority relative to the islands, including the expensive editions of early voyages." Although claiming to be well read on the voyages, he accepts whole-heartedly the statements in Mooololo Hawaii of 1838. He denounces Cook as vigorously as any, and adds a condemnation (17, p. 130) of Cook for his not having enlightened the minds of the natives "in the fundamental principles of religion." There is one exception. Jarves does state (17, p. 109) that Cook attempted to protect the natives from venereal disease.

But his efforts were in vain. If the discipline of his own crew could have been strictly enforced, the eagerness of the women was not to be repressed. The native history thus accounts for its commencement, by which it will be seen that however praiseworthy the motives of the commanders of those expeditions may have been, the licentious habits of the natives themselves were sure to counteract them. . . . Accordingly she sent her own daughter, with other women on board, who returned with the seeds of that disease, which so soon and so fatally spread itself throughout the group.

Dibble in 1843 and 1839

Dibble's account (9) in 1843 is largely a repetition of his earlier denunciation of Cook published (8) in 1839. The

latter was, as Dibble states, a compilation of lectures given by him in the United States "on the duty of Christians to evangelize the heathens." Obviously Dibble was raising funds for missions. Both versions are drawn from that in Moolelo Hawaii of 1838, which will be given presently.

Dibble's denunciation of Cook on the charge of self-deification, need not be repeated. Although well delivered, it is surpassed by that of Bingham which has already been given.

The dates used by Dibble regarding the movements of Cook's vessels indicate that Dibble had not read, or had ignored, the authorized accounts of Cook's voyages. Dibble's reference to "*faithful history*" which I have italicized in his remarks quoted below, can only be conclusions drawn from Moolelo Hawaii of 1838, which he says (9, p. iii) was his source book of information. On pages 21 and 22, he states:

An impression of wonder and dread having been made, Captain Cook and his men found little difficulty in having such intercourse with the people as they chose. In regard to that intercourse, it was marked, as the world would say, with kindness and humanity. But it cannot be concealed that here and at this time, in the form of loathsome disease, was dug the grave of the Hawaiian nation; and from so deep an odium it is to be regretted, that *faithful history* cannot exempt even the fair name of Captain Cook himself, since it is evident that he gave countenance to the evil. The native female first presented to him was a person of some rank; her name was Lelema-hoalani.

Sin and death were the first commodities imported to the Sandwich Islands. As though their former ruin were not sufficient, Christian nations superadded a deadlier evil. That evil is sweeping the population to the grave with amazing rapidity. And it is yet to be seen whether the influence of Christianity on the rising race will stay that desolation.

The preceding paragraphs in part will serve to show Dibble's state of mind towards the memory of Captain Cook; more condemnation followed it. It might be observed that the first paragraph above contained the only admittance by Dibble that there might have been some good in Cook, namely: (1) "marked, as the world would say, with *kindness and humanity*"; and (2) "even the *fair name* of Captain Cook."

Moolelo Hawaii of 1838 (10)

As may have been observed from this review, the Moole-

lelo Hawaii of 1838 has been the main source for the alleged Hawaiian account of Cook's visit. It has either been quoted verbatim or rephrased by Dibble, Jarves, Bingham, Pogue, Fornander and Alexander. Kamakau follows it with some variation. Its title page states that it was written by the scholars of Lahainaluna school, and edited by one of the teachers. The preface indicates that the source of Hawaiian information were the old natives then living. Fornander stated erroneously that David Malo wrote it from statements of eye-witnesses of Cook's time. The writing was done between 58 and 60 years after Cook's arrival, and while Malo was probably one of the scholars, the unpublished book written by himself was quite different.

Being regarded as a Hawaiian history written by Hawaiians themselves, Mooolelo Hawaii of 1838 was taken as a highly authoritative source-book. It was translated into English by Rev. Reuben Tinker (34) in 1839, and Jules Remy (30) translated it into French.

The full account of Cook's visit need not be repeated, as the main facts of alleged native accusation regarded by Dibble as faithful history are contained in the following passages, presented for later evaluation of their accuracy. (10, pp. 6-8). Translated literally:

Cook first arrived at Waimea, Kauai, in January, 1778, when Kaneoneo and Keawe were kings of Kauai. The anchorage was at night, and at dawn the natives ashore saw this wonderful sight. . . . Then the kings ordered some men to sail their canoes and observe the wonderful object. They approached the ship and . . . returned to report the great quantity of iron. . . . A warrior proposed to go and seize the iron. The kings consented. Then the warrior boarded the ship, took the iron, was shot with a bullet and died. His name was Kapupuu. . . .

That night, the cannon* were fired and rockets flew upwards: the people decided it was a god, and called him Lonomakua. They planned to attack him.

The queen, Kamakahalei . . . said: "Better not war against our god; gratify him that he may be propitious." Then Kamakahalei gave her daughter as wife to Cook. Her name was Lelemahoalani. . . . Cook slept with that woman, and the foreigners also slept with the women of Kauai who prostituted themselves for iron. Later the women were destroyed with venereal disease and still later the men, and this bad disease became very extensive in Hawaii. It is the grave of these islands. Sin and death were the things which first spread to Hawaii. Great shame to the people who spread them!

*The Hawaiian term is *pu*, which might mean either "cannon" or "musket". I here follow the translation of Dibble (8 and 9) who wrote the Hawaiian.

The self-deification indictment (10, p. 10) in this Hawaiian history is concluded with:

Cook, like Herod, consented to this worship. He did not forbid it. The thought has come to some that on account of this sin of Cook and of his participating in the spread of venereal disease, he was punished by God with death.

Earlier than 1838

Our search so far has brought us to Mooololo Hawaii of 1838, written from information supposed to have been gathered from Hawaiians. Hawaiians in 1838 condemning Cook for activities sixty years earlier, and supposed by Fornander to have been eye-witnesses, and nursing the resentment against Cook noted by Fornander, could not have spoken at random. The Hawaiian people are of a communicative disposition among one another, and the native informants could only have expressed sentiments existing for the sixty years elapsed. We may therefore continue the search.

Earlier search however will yield barren results. The next record of native opinion on Cook was made by the missionaries in 1823, when the natives spoke but kindly of him (12, pp. 74-75):

The foreigner [Cook] they say was not to blame. . . . "After he was dead, we all wailed." . . . Several of the chiefs frequently express the sorrow they feel whenever they think of him, and the people, generally, speak of these facts with much apparent regret.

These extracts are taken from the "Journal of a tour around Hawaii in 1823" by "A Deputation from the Mission of those Islands," published in Boston. According to the editor, (12, p. vii) who was the Assistant Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, the work was compiled by Rev. Wm. Ellis from the notes made by himself and the Reverends Thurston, Bishop and Goodrich, who approved the completed account.

Still earlier interviews with natives continue to show either the same kindness towards Cook, or general satisfaction with the material comforts following Cook's discovery, or both. Continuing to trace backwards:

Campbell (5, pp. 164-165) resident from 1809 to 1810,

notes no native criticism of Cook, and draws attention to the general air of prosperity and comfort which followed civilization, and to the inducement held out to foreigners to settle in the islands.

In 1809, Little (24, p. 131) had a conversation, through an interpreter, with Hawaiians who

expressed unfeigned sorrow at the unfortunate circumstance which caused the death of this great chief, as they termed him [Cook]; they also informed us that once in every year all the natives assembled here to perform a religious rite in memory of his lamentable death.

Mariner, (26, pp. 61-64) in 1806, through Harbottle and in direct conversation with Hawaiians, obtained the current local opinions in Hawaii about a quarter of a century after Cook's death. He was told that the Hawaiians

have paid, and still continue to pay him [Cook] higher honours than any other nation on earth; they esteem him as having been sent by the gods to civilize them, and one to whom they owe the greatest blessings they enjoy. His bones (the greater part of which they have still in their possession) they devoutly hold sacred; they are deposited in a house consecrated to a god, and are annually carried in procession to many other consecrated houses, before each of which they are laid on the ground, and the priest returns thanks to the gods for having sent them so great a man . . . the king and principal chiefs were exceedingly sorry for the death of their extraordinary benefactor, and would have made any sacrifices in their power rather than so melancholy an accident should have occurred. . . .

This account was obviously written by an enthusiastic Englishman. That of Little was by a young American. For 1804, the Russian Lisiansky (23, p. 110) makes the record from a conversation held with a blind lady, 90 years of age, and the sister of the great chief of Kaawaloa, where Cook was killed:

She talked chiefly of her attachment to Europeans, and greatly lamented the death of Captain Cook.

In 1787, Meares (27, p. xxxix) found only the kindest feelings towards Cook among the Hawaiians, and remarked, as did other voyagers of the period, that the numbers of Hawaiians "which surrounded the ship, with a view to obtain permission to go to Britannee, to the friends of Cook, are incredible . . ."

In fact, very soon after Cook's death in 1779, as Kuykendall points out (20, p. 59): "The Hawaiians, with very

few exceptions, seem to have sincerely regretted their own part in the tragedy and did what they could to restore friendly relations." Captain Clerke had difficulty in refusing the request of the rulers of Kauai for permission to accompany him to England.

In brief, the records available between the time Captain Cook was killed, and 1823, indicate no Hawaiian resentment against him, but quite the reverse.

Resentment formerly un-Hawaiian

Left to themselves, Hawaiians did not long nurse resentment. Take for instance the Olowalu massacre (1, p. 128) where Metcalfe enticed large numbers of innocent natives alongside his vessel, the "Eleanora," and fired with cannon and musket into the canoes. A hundred natives are said to have been killed, and a hundred more wounded. The Hawaiians of today appear to have forgotten Metcalfe, while Cook is remembered, but unkindly.

There was no resentment against Cook on the part of the Hawaiians as late as 1840, if we may judge from the writings of David Malo. Malo is said to have been one of the ten scholars who gathered information for the Mooololo Hawaii of 1838, but it is obvious that his writings were not there presented in the form in which he wrote them. Malo was also a native patriot, strongly opposed to the control of the islands by foreigners (25, p. 12) and headed a movement to prevent it (1, p. 256). He wrote an account of Hawaiian antiquities and a partial history in 1840 which is yet unpublished, although a translation appeared in 1903 (25).

Malo mentions Cook, but does not condemn him, nor in fact make any comment. However, in another passage, Malo refers to the ships discovering the islands and the effect of their size on the minds of the natives. He adds, (25, p. 175) "Great were the benefits from these novel craft, the like of which had never been seen before." Soon after he added: "Many blessings have come to this race through these new sea-going craft. It was by them the word of God was conveyed to these shores, which is a bless-

ing greater than any sought for by the ancients." It was not alone the spiritual blessings which caused Malo to express his satisfaction at the changes brought through Cook's discoveries. On p. 163, Malo writes: "The newly imported articles are certainly superior to those of the ancient times." As Emerson shows (25, pp. 12-13), the patriot Malo was well pleased and used and aided in diffusing the material benefits which the new civilization had brought.

Had there been Hawaiian resentment against Cook in 1840, Malo certainly should have participated in it. Malo was born in 1793 at Keauhou, a few miles from the place where Cook was killed, and only 14 years later. He was brought up at the court of Kamehameha I, and had every opportunity to absorb a critical Hawaiian attitude, if it existed. That it did not then exist is indicated by its absence from Malo's writings, and by the native views already given.

The unkindly regard among Hawaiians for Captain Cook was apparently not general in 1849. In that year Hill (16, p. 169) conversed through an interpreter with a group of elderly natives and found them only friendly towards Cook. Whence then the intensely critical and condemnatory views of Kamakau in 1867 towards Captain Cook? Since much of Kamakau's account is taken from Moolelo Hawaii of 1838, it is obvious that something which did not belong to Hawaiians was introduced about 1838, and instilled in the minds of the younger generation.

Evaluation of Moolelo Hawaii Statements

The few incidents selected for evaluation are said in the Moolelo Hawaii account to belong to the first visit to Waimea, Kauai, when Cook was in command. Cook's own vessel was anchored at Waimea for three nights. A year later, after his death, the same vessels revisited Waimea under the command of Captain Clerke. The statements to be considered are:

(1) In the Moolelo Hawaii account it is said that on Cook's arrival at Waimea in 1778, Kaneoneo and Keawe were kings of Kauai.

The journals and the official account agree that in 1778 Kaneoneo was king of Kauai, and in 1779 was in process of being deposed by the party of Keawe, the boy chief of Niihau. The war began on account of the livestock left by Cook on Niihau the previous year and which was demanded by Kaneoneo. The Mooolelo Hawaii account, therefore, is not accurate.

(2) The Mooolelo Hawaii account mentions "one ship" as being present.

Cook had two ships in 1778, and Clerke the same two in 1779. Between 1779 and 1792, when Vancouver arrived, there were about 20 visits from British and American vessels at Waimea, Kauai.

The Mooolelo Hawaii account, inaccurate here in regard to Cook, may thus belong to later arrivals.

(3) The Mooolelo Hawaii account has it that Cook anchored at night and his vessel was seen in the morning for the first time by the marvelling natives.

In 1778, Cook sighted Kauai in broad daylight. He spent the second day approaching land and was visited by many natives in canoes. He anchored the third day in the afternoon, when natives for the first time came aboard. A year later, in 1779, Clerke coasted along Kauai before day-break and anchored at 8 a. m. In 1792, Vancouver followed the same course and anchored at 9 a. m.

The Mooolelo Hawaii account must refer to a visit later than Cook's.

(4) In the Mooolelo Hawaii account it is said that in 1778, Kapupuu the warrior boarded the ship, stole iron and was shot dead.

This statement alone approximates the truth. On the approach of Cook's own vessel to the anchorage, a native stole an iron cleaver and escaped unharmed, although fired at by the sailors without orders. Soon after, natives on shore raided and attempted to capture a boat's crew commanded by Lieut. Williamson. The native leader was shot. Williamson described him as a man of more presence than the ordinary native, so that the man killed may have been Kapupuu, a minor military leader. However, a year later,

a native was shot the day Clerke arrived, and there was some shooting by Meares in 1786-1787.

(5) In the Mooolelo Hawaii account it is said that at night cannon and fireworks were discharged in 1778 at Waimea by Cook's vessel.

Cook's vessel fired no cannon and discharged no fireworks at Kauai. The first vessel to do so was that of Vancouver, fourteen years later. In 1792, Vancouver (35, p. 181-183) "much gratified" the Regent at Waimea with a salute of four guns as he left the vessel in the afternoon. In the evening there were let off "some sky and water rockets" causing "intense surprise and admiration" on the part of the people ashore.

There can be little question that the incident in the Mooolelo Hawaii account belonged to Vancouver's time but was first garbled and then attributed to Cook.

(6) It is stated in the Mooolelo Hawaii account that in 1778, Queen Kamakahelei gave her daughter Lelemahoa-lani to Cook as his wife, in order to propitiate the "god."

Cook saw no natives of rank at Waimea in 1778, and as the alleged offering of the princess would have been an act of royalty, her rank could not have been concealed.

No attempt was made by the Kauai chiefs to conceal their rank. In 1778 Captain Clerke remained at Waimea two days after Cook's vessel left, and was visited by King Kaneoneo and one of his wives. Each was accompanied by such large retinues that their high rank was immediately apparent. The royal personages were too timid to enter the ship and did not venture beyond the gangway.

The following year, it is to be noted, Captain Clerke received many visits from Queen Kamakahelei who was accompanied by a daughter (apparently a child) and a large retinue. In the last was her general, Kaeo. Kamakahelei is mentioned as the mother of young Keawe (referred to in 1 above). She is also the dominant spirit in the rebellion against Kaneoneo, and as shown by Surgeon Ellis (11, p. 134) and Captain Clerke (18) came on board to try and obtain fighting men and arms to use in the war.

Thus, whatever truth there may be in the Mooolelo Ha-

waii episode of Kamakahelei, it belongs to a time subsequent to Cook's death.

(7) In the Mooolelo Hawaii account it is also stated that Cook slept with Queen Kamakahelei's daughter in 1778.

As shown above, Cook was alive in 1778 and saw no princess. In 1779 a princess was on board his ship, but Cook was already dead! In the wide acceptance of the charge, and the capital made of it, none of Cook's traducers appear to have stopped to consider what would have been done by others. However, since this is the seed of Cook's condemnation tree, it would be well to point out the absence of the incident from the journals. This absence of comment is very significant of the falseness of the charge, because Cook's restrictions, so severely maintained, were not accepted with cheerfulness on board the ships. Were Cook then to break his own rule, this could not fail to be known, and resentment of the fact find record in some of the journals. This would be so especially among the minor officers and men among whom gossip concerning their superiors would be freer.

Of course, it might be stated, although incorrectly, that the journals with condemnatory remarks had been officially suppressed. I shall therefore refer to two which were published outside Great Britain by other than British subjects.

Ledyard, the corporal of marines, a very independent spirited and patriotic New Englander, was very critical of Cook and his officers—so much so that Ledyard's biographer Sparks (32, pp. 124-125) apologizes for it. Ledyard tells how on shore, some of his superior officers broke the regulations regarding women, but at no time does he accuse Cook of doing so. Ledyard's account was written in Connecticut after he had gotten free of the British navy.

The other work was published in Mannheim by the German sailor Zimmermann (38) who was with the expedition. Zimmermann undoubtedly voices the gossip of the fo'c'sle, where officers' personal characteristics are finely dissected and a suspicion elaborated into an apparent incontrovertible fact. Since Cook's reputation withstood this

severe ordeal, we may accept as final evidence that he was continent on the voyage, the following statement by Zimmermann (38, p. 41) :

Never . . . was there a breath of suspicion in regard to Cook's dealings with women. While . . . all the men allowed themselves to be led astray by the attractions of the native women, he alone remained clean and uncontaminated.

From the analysis above it is evident that there is but one incident, namely No. 4, concerning the shooting of Kapupuu, which may have belonged to Cook's time. The fireworks incident, No. 5, was obviously garbled from the account of Vancouver's visit—14 years after Cook. The other incidents, if they occurred at all, were clearly after Cook's time. But all were grouped together by the writer of Mooolo Hawaii and made to apply to the three days of Cook's anchorage at Waimea, Kauai!

Reconstruction of the Episode

Kamakau's references above to Kaeo and Lelemahoalani, combined with other data available, indicate that the Mooolo Hawaii account may have contained some grains of truth which have been misapplied.

Kamakahelei, the rightful but dispossessed queen of Kauai, was struggling to reestablish herself. She used diplomacy and war. The diplomacy included the binding power of marital alliances, practiced by royalty in Hawaii and elsewhere. The daughter was a very high-born princess. During her mother's life or reign, she would be carefully guarded until her first marriage, which would be to a chief selected for his high rank. It is therefore possible that in 1778, an alliance with the supposed god was discussed in the native council. In the traditions of the Hawaiians, and of others, gods have been noted as uniting with human beings.

However, what is more probable is that the matter was not discussed until next year, when Clerke noted that Kamakahelei was "making many large offers and fair promises to some of my people to induce them to run away and assist them in their battles." The war begun by Kamakahelei was in progress. The prestige of the foreigners at

that time no doubt caused them to be regarded as ranking with the highest chiefs. The marriage however would have been quite regular and ceremonious, as shown by Malo, and very different from the affair described in Mooolelo Hawaii. Whatever Kamakahelei's plan, it apparently failed because none of the foreigners stayed.

That year Kaeo, the ambitious warrior prince from Maui, is described by Clerke as the "generalissimo and gallant" of Kamakahelei. He was not then king, although he and Kamakahelei were married about this time. In 1786, seven years later, Kamakahelei apparently was dead, and Kaeo is found to be sole ruler, and soon establishes his son by Kamakahelei as heir to the throne.

What then about Lelemahoalani, who, if alive, had a better right to the throne of Kauai? It is not probable that the ambitious Kaeo would advance her claims, which conflicted with those of his own son. Her high estate then would not be maintained.

Captain Portlock claimed a great friendship with King Kaeo. In 1786, he and some of his sailors stayed on shore. In 1787 two men were left on Kauai by Meares and by 1790 several foreigners were living on the island. Kamakau's statement that King Kaeo gave away Lelemahoalani to a foreigner may thus be correct, although not of Cook.

This outline like the analysis preceding it, indicates the probability that actual facts were preserved in the Mooolelo Hawaii account, but so hopelessly distorted and misapplied in time and person as to completely deceive.

It will, I believe, be admitted that the charges so far discussed, cannot be maintained against Cook. That they should never have been preferred will become more evident after a glimpse at the real Cook.

The real Cook

The journals of the officers and men on Cook's ships help us to understand Cook more than the official account of the voyage. "No man is hero to his valet." The frank comments on the commander might not always have pleased him but instead of sullyng his fame, they add to its luster.

Correlating these accounts, it would appear that Cook did err grievously—but on the side of humanity—and through this error he sooner met his death.

Cook's fatal mistake was an over-confidence in the docility of the Polynesians—particularly of the Hawaiians. Apparently unaware that his physical features and bearing would stamp him as a chief among Polynesians—to whom chiefs were sacred—Cook's many years of fortunate experience in their islands undoubtedly misled him as to docility.*

He must have read of earlier contacts, rife with murders and unprovoked attacks on ships' crews for plunder. His predecessor Wallis, discovering Tahiti, was surrounded and attacked by the Tahitians under an emblem of peace. Hawaiians were no less aggressive. Their first official acts were attempts to plunder the ship, and then to capture a boat's crew. They had received no provocation. Historical references** indicate that from 1786 to 1796, still without provocation by the sufferers, the Hawaiians captured three vessels and murdered their captains and men, murdered officers or men away from three other vessels, and their plans for the capture of seven vessels were frustrated. Hawaiian warriors were bold and daring.

Cook conservative of others' lives

The psychology of the matter indicates that Cook was influenced by his desire to conserve human life. He was loth to kill, even in self-defense, and on this point was at variance with all his officers. (18, Williamson.) They held that, if attacked and compelled to fire, they should shoot to kill, and argued that future attacks would thus be avoided and in the end more lives spared. Cook's instructions to them were to merely wound at first or to fire with blank.

Cook clung to his creed. When he and his nine marines were surrounded by many hundreds of Hawaii's finest war-

*According to Mariner (26, p. 61) Cook just escaped being massacred by the Tongans, at an entertainment they gave for him, through lack of coordination in their plans.

**Jarves (17, pp. 143, 144, 146, 149, 153, 156, 176, 179, 183), Portlock (29, p. 63), Vancouver (35, pp. 155-156 and 173-174).

riors, Cook fired with blank* at his assailant. The latter, with glee, held his mat high in order to prove to his compatriots that musket fire was harmless. Hence the determined rush of the Hawaiians which overwhelmed the small party and destroyed Cook. Other commanders in these waters had different ideas. Eleven years later, as shown above, Metcalfe enticed innocent Hawaiians with promises of rewards, which proved to be their unwarned slaughter with cannon and musket fire. Cook's officer, Williamson, who, in self-defense, shot and killed a native on Kauai, was severely reprimanded.** (36, p. 28.)

Regard for natives' health

Cook's regard for native health was unique for any period. What earlier or later commander in the Pacific attempted to protect the natives from the scourge of venereal disease? Cook, to the utmost, guarded against its introduction, both in Tonga and in the Hawaiian islands. His journal entry at Kauai is as follows:

As there were some venereal complaints on board both of the ships, in order to prevent its being communicated to these people, I gave orders that no women, on any account whatever, were to be admitted on board the ships, I also forbid all manner of connection with them, and ordered that none [of the sailors] who had the venereal on them should go out of the ships.

It is very evident from the notice token of these instructions in all the journals, that Cook was determined to protect the Hawaiian people if he could. His good efforts to guard the Tongan people had been unsuccessful, so apparently he doubled his precautions for the Hawaiians' benefit. The officers cooperated, as the accounts indicate, but Cook apparently did more than merely issue instructions, and tried to control the men of the ship in every manner possible. His orders were reinforced by threats of punishment; he had all the men examined, and not yet content, apparently, he attempted to appeal to the finer feelings of the

*King, who wrote the official account, mentioned small shot, but Ledyard, who claims to have been an eye-witness, stated that Cook fired with blank. Anyone who has observed the smashing effect of fine shot at close range will agree with Ledyard.

**By a curious quirk of fate, this shot fired by Williamson served to confirm the natives in their idea of the divinity of Cook, the first man to land.

men by addressing them on the subject. Zimmerman one of the sailors, records:

The women here, besides being beautiful, were very obliging, out-doing in both these respects the women of the other islands in the South Seas. Captain Cook had, however, forbidden us to have any dealings with them on pain of heavy punishment; indeed the whole crew had to submit to an examination, and any men who were found to be diseased were refused permission to go ashore. (38, p. 28).

He warned us in the most kindly way, not to inflict the innocent islanders with a certain disease from which we ourselves suffered. (38, p. 41).

The critical Ledyard (22, pp. 155-156) absolves Cook of all responsibility in the matter, and points to the impossibility on Hawaii of keeping the sailors and women apart. Even after observing, on the ships' return from the Arctic, that the disease had gained a hold, Cook attempted to retard its spread. A journal entry records that a sailor was punished by flogging for connection with a woman, knowing himself to be diseased.

Means of Communication

It is not clear when the disease gained a foothold. Edgar states that the precautions

required the utmost vigilance of ye officers, for the women used all the arts to entice the sailors into the houses and even went so far as to draw them in by force, & tho' none who were known to have that dreadful distemper upon them were suffer'd to sett their foot on shore, not even those who had been but lately out of the surgeon's list, yet the great eagerness of the women concurring with the desires of the men it became impossible to keep them from each other, & we have reason to believe that some of them had connections with the women on board our ships and on shore notwithstanding every precaution that was taken to prevent it—we found it impracticable keeping them out, the men finding so many schemes to deceive the officers by dressing them up as men . . .

While Edgar feared the trouble began on Kauai, it is not entirely certain that Cook's interdiction was disregarded until the vessels reached Niihau. Here a storm arising, a number of men were detained on shore for some days. In his journal, Williamson attributes the introduction to this circumstance. After referring to Cook's restrictions, he adds:

But there, his good intentions were frustrated by bad weather coming on, which obliged ye party which was trading, and ye guard that was with them, to stay on shore for two days and nights, & ye

extreme reservedness of the party excited so great a curiosity in the women, that they were determined to see whether our people were men or not & used every means in their power to provoke them to do that, which ye dread of punishment would have kept them from.*

This incident was reported to Cook, apparently, because he records in his journal his fear that his efforts have been in vain.

In brief, despite Cook's determination and his precautions taken to prevent the introduction of the disease to the Hawaiian people, and the whole-hearted cooperation of his officers in his splendid efforts, Cook personally has been blamed for its introduction!

Deification of Cook

Through a curious combination of circumstances, Cook was thought by the Hawaiians to be the incarnation of Lono-makua, the New Year god—an attribute of Lono, one of the four great gods of Hawaii. After Cook's death, many natives still identified him with Lono-makua, as indicated by the accounts of Mariner and Little quoted above. The belief continued until the overthrow of the old religion in 1819 (12, p. 76) and perhaps later.

The adoration of Cook in his lifetime, took visible form as follows:

- (1) Prostration by the people.
- (2) Offerings (in particular of a pig) with incantations or prayers, when outside a temple or sacred place.
- (3) Offerings as in No. 2 within a temple or sacred place with long ceremonies followed by a feast.

It is shown by the journals, although escaping the official account of the voyage, that Captain Clerke received the same adoration accorded to Cook, as did also the high priest. Dr. Samwell and his companions were accorded the third form, and various of the other officers were similarly and *hospitably entertained* as they thought.

The second form of adoration was also yielded to La

*This improbable sounding story from Niihau has the earmarks of truth. Similar curiosity on the part of the Marquesan women led to the distress of the missionaries who first landed in the Marquesas Islands (36, pp. 141-142).

Perouse (21, p. 98) on Maui and to Portlock (29, p. 155) and Douglas (27, p. 338) on Hawaii. It is not certain if it was yielded to the native kings.

The first form, prostration, was proper before the native king, and certain tabued chiefs, all of whom were of divine descent. The king himself is spoken of as a god, hence undoubtedly the adoration.

With Cook and Clerke, the first and second forms came as one. Cook first experienced it on Kauai, and was told it was the respectful way of greeting the native chiefs, as he himself later observed in the prostration. After having had other curious experiences in the southern islands, and noting some similarities in the Hawaiian to the ceremonial of Tahiti, Cook was unsuspicious of the deification. He accepted all that was done as indicative of "friendship and respect," and is always noted as returning presents for the offerings he received.

Cook's courtesy, as the honored guest which he supposed himself to be, must have been greatly strained through the ceremonies he was made to undergo. King states that in it all, Cook was quite passive and followed the directions of his host. There was also some strain on the gravity of the journalists in recording the "courtesies" being extended to their stern and dignified commander. Burney refers to the "dead, stinking pig" being held over the Captain's head. Samwell notes that from this pig the priest took some of the fat and anointed Cook with it. Lieutenant King records the fact that Cook's politeness grew faint while the two were later being "hand-fed" in the temple: "But the Captain recollecting the offices Koah had officiated when he handled the putrid hog could not get a morcel down, not even when the old fellow very politely chewed it for him."

Perhaps no better illustration than the preceding could be given of Cook's willingness to trust himself to the Polynesians.

King and the other officers looked upon these ceremonies as intended to cement friendship. Their ignorance of what was going on was colossal. None of them even recog-

nized the significance of the name Lono, applied to Cook. To them it meant "chief," as shown in all the journals. Ledyard uses it in his hypothetical system of rank, as the highest class. Even when shown "Eatooa aronah" (namely, Akua Lono—The god Lono) they translated it as "The chief of the gods!"

Enough of the foregoing and similar data is to be found in the official account of the voyage and in Ledyard's journal, to show that Cook was absolutely ignorant of the deification. The charge of self-deification then has a greater interest on account of the indicated psychology of the accusers than on account of Cook himself.

Having reviewed the things which Cook did not do, and those which he did, we may now take up the question of the real authorship of *Mooolelo Hawaii* of 1838—the source book of the alleged Hawaiian accusations of Cook.

Authorship of *Mooolelo Hawaii*.

The title page of the 1838 (or first) edition states that it was written by some of the students of Lahainaluna school and edited (namely, *hooponoponoia*—corrected) by one of the teachers. The preface is more detailed. It is there stated that the greater part of the history was written by the students from information acquired from the old people. Late events were described by the older students from memory. "The students gave the accounts they had written to one of the teachers of the school, who combined and edited them for printing, and who himself inserted some remarks." (Haawi no haumana ia mau mooolelo a lakou i kakau ai i kekahi kumu o ke kula, a nana no i hookuikui a i hooponopono no ka pai ana, a nana iho no hoi kekahi mau olelo maloko.)

The Rev. Sheldon Dibble states that he was this teacher, and claims the inspiration for writing *Mooolelo Hawaii* of 1838. In his history in English (9, pp. III-IV) he says that being called to teach history at Lahainaluna school, it occurred to him "as quite objectionable that the scholars, whilst they were becoming acquainted with other nations, should remain to a great degree in ignorance of their own."

So he began in 1836 to collect data for a Hawaiian history. He "selected ten of the best scholars" and formed them into a class of enquiry. He called them together, gave them one question at a time "conversing freely with them upon it, that they might understand fully and distinctly what was sought for." The scholars went "individually and separately" to the oldest inhabitants, and the information gathered was written down to be read at the subsequent meetings. At such times "each scholar read what he had written—discrepancies were reconciled and corrections made by each other and then all the compositions were handed to me, out of which I endeavored to make one connected and true account."

Dibble Unfair to Scholars

Dibble's plan, as outlined, was excellent, but as I intend to follow the influence his representations of Cook had on the Hawaiian people, I must point out an important discrepancy between his two statements. In his history in English, he says that it was the Hawaiian scholars who reconciled and corrected the errors in each other's accounts. Few, if any of the Hawaiians of Dibble's day read English. In the account which the Hawaiians could read, Dibble stated that he, the teacher, combined and corrected the accounts, and made contributions of his own. In other words, the account as completed by Dibble was printed and handed back to the Hawaiian students as a work of authority. If they were not better informed, the account was nevertheless accepted by Kamakau, and by the natives in communication with Fornander. Malo knew better, but he could not challenge his teacher, and therefore avoided the discussion.

Dibble Not Historically-Minded

It should be noted that while the account of Captain Cook in Mooolo Hawaii of 1838 was compiled by Dibble, and styled by him "faithful history," he at no time had his compilation reviewed by the elderly informants of his scholars. Had he done so, some of his errors would have come to light immediately. Nor did Dibble apparently re-

fer for comparison of statements to any authorized account of Cook's voyage, of which there were many in Dibble's day.

Furthermore, while aware (10, pp. 18-19) from the native accounts that many other vessels followed Cook, details of which Dibble did not record, it did not apparently occur to him to enquire if what he was attributing to Cook might not have belonged to the later comers.

Dibble's historical qualifications might be questioned further, if his anachronisms were listed. I shall point to one only. He stated that on Cook's return from the Arctic, the sailors were observed by the natives to be eating "the red core of the watermelon, brought from Monterey (9, p. 24)—a mild confusion with Vancouver's voyage of more than a decade later.

Origin of Denunciation

As is now obvious, the attribution to Hawaiians of the original charges against Cook is both wrong and unjust. It is not they who are responsible for the resentment, the facts as asserted, nor the condemnation. It is Dibble alone who, perhaps unconsciously, so arranged matters that the Hawaiians of the time were made responsible without knowing it or being able to correct it. Not only was the responsibility wrongly attributed, but the entire accusation was false. If we follow the effects of its wide dissemination, we may hit upon the cause.

Effects of Dibble's Work

Dibble was looked upon as the historical authority of the time, although how reliable we may judge. However, the effect of his production was wide. *Mooolelo Hawaii* was translated into English and into French, and was the source book for all subsequent writers of Hawaiian history.

Effect on Hawaiians

The effect on the Hawaiians was overwhelming. The book was republished by Pogue, and enlarged on by Kama-kau, but what was more insidious, the erroneous compilation became the text book for teaching the rising generation of

Hawaiians. As previously stated, very few Hawaiians of this period could read English. Consequently they had no books of reference other than those in Hawaiian provided by their teachers.* Lahainaluna School was intended for the preparation of school-teachers and pastors of Hawaiian blood (9, p. 270). For these the Moolelo Hawaii of 1838 was prepared as a text-book, with an extensive questionnaire at the foot of each page so that the scholars would become letter perfect in what was printed.

Crushing of Ancient Thought

In the Moolelo Hawaii are many things which are not generally found in histories. Here are some. "On account of the great ignorance and mere lying of the local ancients, they said that these islands were truly born to Wakea and Papa, like giving birth to children." Still less patient with mythology, Dibble says of Papanuihanaumoku, the mythical great earth mother: "The lying things said of Papa are not soon told." In one sentence the doings of the mythical ancestors are condemned in nine different ways. The Maui myth cycle is not credited: "It is certain that these accounts are lies." The comment on the ascent of Hina, the moon maiden, is rather choice: "Nani ka wahahee!" "What a lie!" (Literally, "Glorious the lie!") Hema's voyage is disbelieved: "A lie indeed that journey." It is also stated that when the foreigners came, the Hawaiians were idolators and addicted to pleasure and all wickedness. "They were led by Satan to act according to his wishes." In the portion describing events preceding the arrival of the missionaries, there is on an average one condemnation to less than three of the small pages, in addition to quotations and texts from the Bible.

Not to Teach History

We may wonder just what Dibble did plan, in preparing his history of Hawaii, to teach to his Hawaiian scholars. Instead of a history, it seemed more like an instrument designed to excise from the minds of his immature and im-

*This fact drew from Keoni Ana (John Young, 2nd) a strong complaint in 1849 against the educational system under which he had been raised. (16, pp. 141-142.)

impressionable scholars, all thought and respect for their own history. Dibble's teaching of history differed but little from his preaching of religion, with its apparently necessary background of fire and brimstone to lend support.

Perhaps a Purpose in Condemning Cook

And with the condemnation of the old Hawaiian life went the condemnation of Cook. Have we forgotten that the ancestors of Dibble's neophytes had deified Cook? The deification continued long after Cook's death, and it is not improbable that his bones were still considered sacred in 1823 (12, p. 77). There was then perhaps sectarian need to drag Cook's name in the mire.

Condemnation of Cook Accepted As Dogma

And how could the impressionable or immature among Dibble's pupils fail to absorb condemnation of Cook, as part of the Christian dogma taught by their teacher and pastor? His history and preaching were similar.

Furthermore, Dibble's Hawaiian scholars were of the first generation to come under Christianity. They and their parents, and other Polynesians had been accustomed to regard native religion and native history as one, and religion permeated their culture. Polynesians in the south at first combined foreign culture with the Christianity taught them, and took it all as the new religion. If a parallel is needed, one has but to consider the Old Testament of the Bible and the Jewish people.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the youthful and embryonic teachers and pastors in Dibble's charge, absorbed as portions of the new religion taught them, the wholesale condemnation of Captain Cook as taught. And in turn, it was passed on to the younger Hawaiians. No wonder then that Hawaiian sentiment towards Cook changed from kindness to unrelenting condemnation!

Effects Shown By Comparison

Malo came under the influence of Christianity about 1825 (9, p. 184) and was then about 32 years old—a man of

some maturity of opinion. He remained under Rev. Mr. Richards and later entered Lahainaluna school in its first year, 1831, when Dibble began. (25, p. 9).

In his own writings, Malo is almost painfully conscientious. His purpose is well illustrated by his preface:

I do not suppose the following history to be free from mistakes, in that the material in it has come from oral traditions; consequently it is marred by errors of human judgment and does not approach the accuracy of the word of God.

As already stated, Malo helped to gather material for the Mooololo of 1838. It would seem very likely that he did not approve of the compilation as it appeared, because in his own writings he neither follows its style nor sentiments. Certain things he must have known to be untrue, and given under the authority of his pastor he could not well correct them. But he would not repeat them.

With Kamakau it was different. When 17 years old (33, p. 41) he entered Lahainaluna a year after Malo. Kamakau was always impressionable, as is indicated in his biography (33, p. 46). It is not shown that in his youth he had had the opportunities for acquiring Hawaiian history as had Malo. He was, however, far more brilliant than Malo, and never held his imagination in check. Alexander states (25, p. 17) that Kamakau "did not always keep his versions of the ancient traditions free from foreign admixture." Fornander (33, p. 45) gave Kamakau much credit, but added that "even he is often very credulous, inconsistent and uncritical."

Kamakau's histories were all space writing for the newspapers, and it is very doubtful if he were any more historically conscientious than he was conscientious as a judge. As stated by Thrum (33, p. 44) Kamakau was removed from his judgeship for malfeasance of office on several counts.

Kamakau received instruction in Hawaiian history and historical methods from Dibble. If then in Kamakau's writings we find resentment (not observable among the early Hawaiians), condemnation and misstatements of fact, it is to be concluded that he is but giving expression to his acquirements at the Lahainaluna school.

Dibble's Inconsistency

If Dibble had been consistent in his condemnations, one might be constrained to find excuses for him. He was not. He held Captain Cook's name up to scorn on accusations he had erroneously compiled. But how did he treat the name of Metcalfe? All the writers, including Dibble, show Metcalfe as a cruel, bloody murderer of the innocent. When Dibble told of the outrage (8, p. 35) he was in America, pleading the cause of missions, and stated: "I forbear to give the name of the vessel, though it is recorded in Hawaiian history." The Hawaiian history was of course Mooolo Hawaii of 1838, which, being in Hawaiian, was a closed book to his hearers. Dibble's lectures were, as they show, intended to draw out contributions for the mission in the section of the country Metcalfe came from—hence perhaps the careful concealment of Metcalfe's identity!

An Influence on Dibble

This careful handling of the bloody Metcalfe by the missionary Dibble gives some hint which may help to explain Dibble's denunciation of Cook. Metcalfe was an American, and Cook was English. It is well known that the anti-British feeling engendered in the United States during the war of the Revolution, and of 1812, was long maintained. The condemnation of Metcalfe then would be less acceptable than that of Cook.

Another Influence

There may have been another influence, somewhat similar to the last, but in Hawaii, in the curious American-British under cover contest for the favor of the Hawaiians just before and during Dibble's residence in these islands (4). The American missionaries were in control of the government through their dominance of the chiefs, and Dibble could not have been free of the conflict. How then could Dibble tolerate the kindly thought which the Hawaiians retained for Captain Cook?

Educational Effect of Dibble's Work

As shown, Dibble's compilation was taught to the Hawaiians, and retaught without denial. The Hawaiians today are the most bitter against Cook. The writers in English took their statements from Dibble's Hawaiians, as well as from Dibble's work in Hawaiian. A startling illustration is that of Fornander, who should not have been deceived. Undoubtedly, Yzendoorn has been similarly misled. The community thus became educated in the belief in the propriety of condemning Cook.

Effect on Local Regard for Cook

It is not improbable that the will to denounce Cook has influenced the will to deny his discovery of these Islands. There is a curious parallelism—in general, the writers who denounce Cook, also put forward strong arguments to prove that he was not the discoverer. It is possible and not improbable that being intent on denouncing, we have been less free to examine critically the evidence presented of a discoverer prior to Cook. This discoverer was supposed to have been Juan Gaetano or Gaytan in 1542 or 1555. Some insist that it could not have been Gaetano, but "must have been some other Spaniard!"*

The question of the Spanish discovery of the Hawaiian Islands was finally settled in 1916 by E. W. Dahlgren (7), the Swedish geographer, who closed a memoir of 216 pages on the subject with the following paragraph:

No historical fact proves, nor is there any sort of probability, that

*One item of evidence presented in support of the theory of a pre-Cook Discovery was a piece of iron secured at Waimea, Kauai, by Cook's vessels in 1778. It was supposed by some to have been the point of a broadsword. The Journal of Captain Clerke, interpreted in the light of local knowledge, helps to explain its origin on Kauai. Clerke notes that the midshipman securing it reported that the native owner "pointed away to the S. E. ward, where he says there is an island called Tai, from whence it came." The Kauai term *tai* means "sea", and Captain Clerke was fairly successful in recording the Hawaiian vocal sounds—as for instance in his rendering *Tao*, as *Tay'o*. From Waimea, there is no island to the south east which could be considered in this connection, but the current, hugging the coast of Kauai, sweeps up to Waimea from the south-east. Edgar's journal and the official account both mention that before the end of that year, other iron had drifted with wreckage to Kauai from the east. Dependence on gathering information through pointing misled most of the officers on the ships in endeavoring to learn the name of Waimea village. They recorded it as *Bootaberrie*, *Booterberry*, etc., a rendering of *Puutapere* (modern, *Puukapele*) the peak seen directly behind Waimea village as the ships approached. It is evident then that the midshipman deceived himself in interpreting the seaward pointing by the native and the mention of the term *tai*, as a reference to an island. The native was merely attempting to explain that the iron had drifted in with wreckage from the sea.

the Hawaiian Islands were ever visited, or even seen by the Spaniards before their discovery by Captain Cook in 1778.

Bishop Restarick (31) published locally in 1930 a condensed account of Dahlgren's researches, and added explanatory notes.

Was Dibble's Influence Permanent?

Finally when we come to look for evidence of local appreciation of Cook, the result is surprising. Whether Cook was or was not locally regarded as the discoverer of the Hawaiian Islands, all have admitted that he made the islands known to the civilized world, and that he died here in the execution of his duty. However, in the nineteenth century, no public monument was erected to his memory, beyond one set up and maintained by the British Government! Instead of commemorating Cook, the centenary of his discovery was marked by the erection of a statue to Kamehameha I, generally supposed (14, pp. 195-7) to have taken part in the killing of Cook! Kuykendall, in his recent history (20, p. 266) notes:

The [Hawaiian] legislature of 1878 appropriated the money for the statue [Kamehameha I at the Judiciary Building] which was intended to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook.

Prior to the Sesquicentennial of Cook in 1928, the only local public recognition of Cook seems to have been the naming of a side street, 700 feet long on the slopes of Punchbowl, "Captain Cook Avenue." I understand this was done about two decades ago at the suggestion of Mr. W. F. Wilson.

And in Hawaii, where we annually set aside days or weeks for special observances, who has heard of recognizing January 18 as "Discovery Day?"

SUMMARY

The foregoing study indicates:

- (1) That the condemnation of Captain Cook in Hawaii originated with the Rev. Sheldon Dibble.

- (2) That Dibble may have been influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by one or more of the following:
 - a. A need of eradicating from the minds of the Hawaiians the memory of Cook whom their ancestors had deified.
 - b. The anti-British sentiment surviving from Revolutionary days.
 - c. The American-British contest for power in the Hawaiian Islands.
- (3) That until Dibble's time, Captain Cook was kindly regarded by Hawaiians.
- (4) That Dibble:
 - a. Through falsehoods dishonored Cook's memory.
 - b. Distorted Hawaiian information and applied it to Cook, and published such distortion as history by Hawaiians.
 - c. Although regarded as the historical authority, made no attempt to verify his statements.
 - d. Using the distortion as a groundwork and calling it faithful history, he launched his bitter denunciation of Captain Cook.
 - e. Used the distortion as a text-book and taught it to young Hawaiian pastors and teachers, through whom the Hawaiian attitude later changed.
- (5) That Dibble's distortion of history was accepted and perpetuated by other historians, until the local attitude against Cook became condemnatory.
- (6) That on account of the local condemnatory attitude, commemorative honors have not been accorded Cook.
- (7) That an examination of Cook's actions and character reveals no grounds for the dishonor cast upon his memory, but rather demonstrates that he is deserving of full honors in the islands he discovered.

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